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New  Brunswick

Political Science 120

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GENERAL AIM

The general aim of the Political Science 120 program for New Brunswick is to provide a basic understanding of how the various governments in Canada function and compare our governmental system with those that exist in various other nations around the world. Since Canada is a democracy, students should be made aware of the characteristics of this type of government and investigate how closely our nation comes to this ideal.

RATIONALE

Not a day goes by without media reports of conflict, confrontation or cooperation within nations and among nations. Political leaders in the former Soviet Union and the deserts of Libya are as well known as movie stars and musical idols. The immediacy of television networks like CNN bring the Saddam Husseins from their bunkers and the Bill Clintons from their White House to the livingrooms of millions. On the national scene, free trade, the GST and deficit reduction are in the conscious minds of Canadians and New Brunswickers - as are the names of the politicians who are deemed responsible for their introduction.

As citizens of this democratic nation, our students should not only be aware of events and decisions that will influence their lives, but they should come to understand why and how these events and decisions came to be. This is the essence of the Political Science 120 course. Students should be presented with the political framework whereby the political decisions of the day are formulated - whether at the local level where decisions on constructing recreational facilities are made, or at the provincial level where the high school curriculum is decided, or at the federal level where decisions on free trade with Mexico are considered. They will also learn why changes in some states are completed peacefully while other states resort to bloodshed.

In Civitas: A Framework for Civic Education (Centre for Civic Education, 1991), the authors maintain that:

The first and primary reason for civic education in a constitutional democracy is that the health of the body politic requires the widest possible civic participation of its citizens consistent with the public good and the protection of individual rights. The aim of civic education is therefore not just any kind of participation by any kind of citizen; it is the participation of informed and responsible citizens, skilled in the arts of deliberation and effective action. (p. 3)

This Political Science 120 course should not only inform students about the concepts and terminology of politics, but should allow the students to acquire the skills that are necessary to allow them to function as responsible citizens.

Teachers must realize that this is a High School course and not a university course. We are not training political scientists, but are preparing students to function in a world heavily weighted with political decisions. They may decide to become major actors on the political horizon, but an understanding of how the decision-making process works is desirable for all.

OBJECTIVES

The Working Document on Scope and Sequence for N.B. Social Studies included an appended Table listing a *Scope and Sequence Criteria* - a listing of 24 criteria for a Social Studies course. The Political Science 120 course has the potential to fulfill most of these criteria:

- **Reflect a balance of local, national, and global content.** The scope of the Political Science 120 course should include an examination of politics at the municipal, provincial, federal, and international levels.
- **Reflect a balance of past, present, and future content.** In examining political ideologies, it is necessary to establish their historical roots with examples of present governments and groups that follow such ideologies. It is a natural progression to discuss the possible future outlook for ideologies such as communism and fascism.
- **Provide for students' understanding of the structure and function of social, economic, and political institutions.** Political institutions form a central core in the Political Science 120 course.
- **Emphasize concepts and generalizations from history and the social sciences.** Such concepts as democracy, socialism, communism, fascism, liberalism, conservatism and anarchism - in their historical contexts - are central in the study of Political Science 120.
- **Promote the use of a variety of teaching methods and instructional materials.** The teaching of Political Science 120 permits the use of various methods, primarily inquiry based, but allowing great flexibility. Both print and electronic materials should be utilized to the greatest extent since politics, no matter at what level, is dynamic. The use of television, radio, newspapers, and current magazines provide immediate sources of information and motivation that should be exploited by the teacher. Relevant computer software is available to further challenge the inquisitive student.
- **Foster active learning and social interaction.** The establishment of Model Parliaments or Model United Nations under the aegis of this course - with the requisite elections, party formations, cabinet selections, preparation of bills, learning of parliamentary procedure, oratory and debate - will provide an optimal level of interaction and learning. Role playing in the mini-unit on The Ombudsman will allow for interaction and learning that rote-learning does not. Political Science 120 allows many opportunities for role-playing and debate, both spontaneous and structured.

- **Reflect a clear commitment to democratic beliefs and values.** This is the only course which explores in detail exactly what these democratic beliefs and values are. Other ideological and belief systems are also dealt with in detail - together with an examination of the systems in practice as well as in theory. When presented beside other ideologies as they exist or have existed, students are able to understand the strengths of democracy, without any necessity of coercion or *brainwashing*.
- **Reflect a global perspective.** The unit on Political Ideologies must of necessity explore governmental systems from around the world. As well, an exploration of government in Canada will lead to comparisons and contrasts with governments in other nations.
- **Foster the knowledge and appreciation of diversity.** An objective look at government and politics in various countries should result in the discovery of positive and negative aspects of all systems.
- **Foster the knowledge and appreciation of cultural heritage.** Teaching about aboriginal rights and other constitutional questions (i.e. *distinct society*) will provide knowledge about some of the different cultural heritages in Canada. Marxism must be taught in the context of Europe in the midst of the Industrial Revolution and as part of the Western European heritage.
- **Foster the building of self-esteem.** Participation in role-playing, model parliament, class debates, discussion of topics in class, preparation of projects using various media, and computer usage provide vehicles whereby a serious student can enhance self-esteem.
- **Be consistent with scholarship in the discipline.** Public opinion polls are increasingly being used on an almost everyday basis. Students can become pro-active by learning how opinion polls are developed and used, and by administering polls on topics of contemporary political interest. Image-making and the use of the media in election campaigns and leadership contests provide ready sources of study.
- **Incorporate thinking skills and interpersonal skills.** Politics involves people; politicians must be able to relate to the public. To become involved in the political process, students must be able to develop interpersonal skills. To compare various political philosophies, the thinking skills of students must be developed.
- **Stress and identification, understanding, and solution of local, national, and global problems.** The study of governmental and non-governmental organizations includes the study of problems involving peace, population, hunger, and the environment. A study of the Canadian constitution will

include a discussion of the constitutional problems of regions and different groups. Studying municipal government should include an examination of problems specific to the local area.

- **Provide many opportunities for students to learn and practice the basic skills of participation, from observation to advocacy.** No course in the social studies curriculum provides the opportunity for development and usage of participatory skills as does Political Science 120. The *political animals* in this course are usually only too ready to make attempts to influence public policy.
- **Promote the transfer of knowledge and skills to life.** Special interest and pressure groups form a section of this course. Students learn how to protest and have their voices heard. Through the preparation and debate of specific legislation in class or in model parliaments, students develop participatory skills that can last throughout their lives.
- **Have the potential to challenge and excite students.** Political Science 120 can provide a *hands-on* and *brains-on* experience for any inquisitive student. Rote learning is to be discouraged; understanding and application should be stressed. This course should encourage active participation and not passive regurgitation. As a result, the affective domain, as well as the cognitive domain, will be challenged and involved.

METHODOLOGY

The course is designed to allow for maximum student participation. It should be kept flexible since the contemporary issues must be studied as they occur. The flexibility aspect must also allow individual students to pursue areas that arouse special interest while remaining within the general unit plan.

The teacher is expected to act as a planner and a guide in providing the wide range of learning activities and resources necessary to meet varying interests and abilities of individual students.

The activities and resources should include:

1. A multi-media approach with widespread use of books, newspapers, magazines, radio, television, videos and films. (Maclean's In-Class Program and Time Magazine Educational Program are very useful resources with teaching guides on a range of political topics.)
2. Role-playing techniques.
3. Simulation games.
4. Interviews and guest speakers - especially MPs, MLAs, and local political figures.
5. Discussions, panels, and formal debates.
6. Model parliaments / preparation of bills.
7. Field trips - provincial legislature, town / city hall.
8. Computer software - political games.

Such activities contribute to the student's understanding, and at the same time add to the vitality of the classroom.

SKILLS

Disagreements exist over what constitutes a skill in the social studies. The New Brunswick Social Studies Scope and Sequence Study recommends a consistent definition of this term:

A skill is the ability to perform a particular task. It is the power to be able to do something competently. This involves having a certain knowledge and being able to use that knowledge to complete a performance. A skill combines knowledge with ability. (p. 31)

The following skills should be taught in the Political Science 120 course:

1. **Acquiring, organizing and evaluating material.**

From a myriad of sources, print and audio-visual, the student should be able to accomplish the above. (Example: an assignment over the semester - to follow a particular government department and its minister, keeping track of proposed legislation and program operation, and evaluating the effectiveness of the minister and the department in a summary document and / or verbal presentation.

2. **Communicating information.**

In the above scenario, students are asked to contact the appropriate departments and ministries and carry on a dialogue (written or verbal) concerning that department. Students are encouraged to communicate their views on contemporary topics through *Letters to the Editor* of a local newspaper.

3. **Inquiry process skills.**

The skill of thinking critically can be developed through examination of the differences in theory and practice displayed by proponents of specific political ideologies.

Creative thinking can result from projects where students are required to revise a political philosophy so that it might be effective in a particular country or situation. Also, a student could be challenged to develop possible solutions to existing problems - such as the constitutional impasse in Canada.

4. **Interpersonal relations and social participation skills.**

The use of mock or model parliaments, the debating of specific topics, and the interchange during class discussions help to foster these skills.

5. **Chronological skills.**

Studying the development of the Canadian constitution or the evolution of political philosophies and political parties require the development of chronological skills.

6. **Computer skills.**

Computer software such as PCGLOBE, Hidden Agenda, and Stratagem require various levels of sophistication in computer usage, but each can easily be adapted for usage in Political Science 120.

7. **Audio-Visual skills.**

Viewing and analyzing television debates (e.g. debates in election or leadership campaigns, the Thomas hearings by the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee) allow students to see how the political process works - and sometimes doesn't work.

Political cartoons, radio programs like *Royal Canadian Air Farce* and *Double Exposure*, and films like the *Hecklers* show how public figures can be satirized. Students should develop skills in discovering and analyzing the meaning behind these media representations and evaluate their fairness, and success, in achieving their goals.

POLITICAL SCIENCE 120

SCOPE OF COURSE

It is essential that the course be as flexible as possible to accommodate topics of current interest that can present an intrinsic motivation for students. Therefore, the sequence that is followed should be up to the individual teacher. Also, the depth of coverage of individual topics should be left in the hands of the teacher.

Following is a suggested scope for the Political Science 120 course. It begins with basic definitions appropriate to the course, discusses the philosophical need for government, looks specifically at government in Canada and expands horizons to include differing ideologies and governments in other countries:

UNIT 1 INTRODUCTION TO POLITICAL SCIENCE

- (1) What is Politics?
- (2) What is Political Science?
- (3) What is the Scope of the course?
- (4) What are some of the key terms which students should be introduced to early in the term?
- (5) Who are some of the key players on the Canadian political stage, both past and present?

UNIT 2 GOVERNMENT

- (1) What is government?
- (2) Why is government necessary? Why do we need it? How much government should there be?
- (3) Where did governments originate?
- (4) What different definitions or classifications of governments exist?

UNIT 3 GOVERNMENT IN CANADA

Section A: Constitutions and Constitutionalism

- (1) What is a constitution?
- (2) How has the Canadian Constitution evolved?
- (3) What is Canada's Constitution today?

Section B: Who Governs Canada?

- (1) What is the role of the executive in Canadian government?
- (2) Who makes the laws in Canada?
- (3) What role does the Judiciary play in the Canadian parliamentary system?
- (4) Who makes sure that public policy is carried out?
- (5) What roles are performed by Provincial and Municipal governments?

Section C: Influences on Government

- (1) What influence do polls have on the political process?
- (2) How does the mass media influence the political process?
- (3) What influence do pressure groups have on the political process?
- (4) What is the role of Canada in the International Political System and what influence does this have on decisions made in Canada?

UNIT 4 POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES AND PARTIES

Section A: What is meant by democracy?

- (1) What is classical liberalism and how has liberalism changed since the nineteenth century?
- (2) What is meant by conservatism?
- (3) What is meant by democratic socialism and how does it differ from utopian socialism?

Section B: What are the characteristics of an authoritarian form of government?

- (1) In theory, how does Marxism differ from Fascism?
- (2) How do authoritarian governments achieve power?
- (3) How do authoritarian governments maintain power?

Section C: What is the role of a Political Party?

Section D: What is your individual ideology?

UNIT ONE - INTRODUCTION TO POLITICAL SCIENCE

RATIONALE

It is essential that one gets off to a good start in this course and immediately plant the seed that Political Science is interesting, indeed fascinating, and not overly difficult - once one gets a sense of it. One might remind students that riding a bicycle was once considered an impossibility that today is done without thought. Similarly, the student in a few weeks will not believe that he/she could ever have not been interested in, and knowledgeable about, politics.

The general aim is to introduce politics, explain briefly just what Political Science is, show the scope of the course, and interest the students in going further. Below are listed a number of tactics which the teacher might use to introduce students to the topic. It is not intended that each teacher will use each of the following introduction suggestions. Instead, a number of different approaches are suggested and the teacher is encouraged to pick and choose and perhaps come up with an amalgam, or an original approach.

(1) Key Question:

What is Politics?

Although there are many definitions and explanations of politics, nearly everyone has some knowledge and feeling about this subject. At the beginning of this course, students should be exposed to some of the aspects of government, and some of the terms that will be used throughout the course. Teachers should be cautioned against being overly clinical at this time.

Suggested Teaching Strategies:

- A. Teachers might find the section Organizing a Society in the book Inside World Politics by D.P. Rogers and R.J. Clark (Toronto: Macmillan, 1969, pp. 1-21) particularly useful as a jumping off point. This text was provided a class set in the first days of the course (early 70s), and might still be found in a dusty corner or borrowed from another school.
 - (1) Students could read the article "Government in Captivity" from Stoerpenberg Camp by Gerald Haines, found in Inside World Politics (pp. 17-21) about a group of captured Americans organizing a government in a German POW camp in 1945. The discussion guidelines following the article explore the structure of a democratic government and the decision making process.

- (2) Students could read the article "Government without Adults" from Lord of the Flies by William Golding, found in Inside World Politics (pp. 5-11) about a group of schoolboys left to fend for themselves after their plane crash-lands on a coral island. The discussion guidelines explore how a leader is chosen and how perceived threats can threaten stable government.
- B. With or without a reading, a teacher might borrow the idea of Lord of the Flies and improvise a game in which students are placed in a similar situation and asked what they are going to do and who is going to do it. A confident teacher might work this game to show that government will arise in some form and that there will be all sorts of problems. The teacher might try to draw as many of the topics to be covered as possible from the activity:
- How will government function? Will there be need for a constitution? If so, will it be written or unwritten?
Who will lead?
How will leadership be determined?
If there are elections, who should vote? By secret ballot?
What sort of ideology is suggested? One hopes there will be a wide variety.
- C. Students should read the chapter "Politics" from My Grandfather's Cape Breton by Clive Doucet (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, pp. 193-197), a description of a boy's introduction to grass-roots politics from spending a summer vacation at the home of his grandfather in rural Cape Breton in the late 1950s. Many political terms are mentioned; teachers could use brainstorming techniques to find out how much knowledge and insight the students have concerning these terms (i.e. Public Service, election, Liberal, Conservative, opposition, riding, the House).

(2) Key Question:

What is Political Science?

James J. Guy in People, Politics & Government, 2nd edition (Don Mills: Collier Macmillan, 1990) introduces the study of political science in this way:

"An understanding of politics is not a gift; it is an achievement. Learning to cope with the vast amounts of political information that come to us every day is a matter of training. We need to place the data in proper perspective by imposing some organization and structure on the flow of world events. First we must be motivated to learn about the political personalities and decisions that affect our lives. Then we must apply a methodology to our process of learning that will provide a system for receiving new information. The information received becomes a contribution to a growing body of knowledge, rather than a hodgepodge of seemingly unrelated events." (p.44)

This political science course attempts to provide the organization and structure for the study of politics.

Suggested Teaching Strategies:

- A. Political Science is an eclectic study and draws upon many fields of knowledge, including anthropology, economics, geography, history, philosophy, psychology, sociology, social work and statistics.

Divide students into groups of three or four, assign one of the above fields of study to each group, and have them (a) describe the scope of that field of study and (b) choose general and specific examples of where political science can (or has) draw(n) upon the resources of that discipline. (A useful source is Guy, pp. 45-49.)

- B. Using pages 3-15 of the textbook Ideologies by Baldwin et al. (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1992), the teacher might draw out some of the ideas listed under Key Question (1) Part B above - plus others they think will stimulate that initial interest. Teachers might be cautioned about treading warily at this point and not getting too deep into theory which might alienate some students. This reading might also be used to flesh out some of the above themes.
- C. Teachers might want to use the quotation from Guy as a focus for discussion of the topic.

(3) Key Question:

What is the scope of the course?

The idea that both the ideal and the practical will be studied in this course should be stressed. We will attempt to learn the basic underpinning of any political system and how the individual is affected by, and effects, this system. Students should become aware of what government is, what it can and can't be expected to do, and what role(s) they might play within that system.

Since it makes sense to study a system in detail as a way of seeing generalizations come to light, it seems logical to study the Canadian situation as it is the one that the graduate must work with and within. It is advantageous to look at other systems - for instance, that of Britain from which we have derived so much of our system, that of the United States which dominates our horizon and to which some look with favour, and any other which offers insight into a more productive system. Thus, the aim of the course will be to look at the ideal and practical sides of politics using Canada as the chief example.

Lest we become provincial in our thinking, it is suggested and recommended that teachers use current events (at the local, provincial, national and international levels) almost daily as an attempt to bring politics to life and this will allow for critical viewing of other political systems as they come to prominence in the news.

Teachers might wish to consult **Appendix 1 - A** which gives a sample lesson plan for doing much of the above.

(4) Key Question:

What are some of the key terms which students should be introduced to early in the term?

In this section some key political terms and concepts should be introduced. The number of terms should not be exhaustive but should be representative of the areas of concentration that are to be explored in the course. This represents an entirely new language for many students so care should be taken not to overwhelm nor intimidate with difficult terms.

Suggested Teaching Strategies:

- A. Some teachers might choose to define terms when they first use them, others might opt to introduce a few of the most prominent terms early in the course and then add more later.

Canada and the World has produced a Backgrounder document on Politics and the first several pages is given over to terminology. However, a few of the more common terms are not addressed here, such as federalism.

Teachers might solicit terms from the students or compose their own list and then move to define them. **Appendix 1 - B** contains one such attempt which might be of use to teachers.

- B. Choose articles of a political nature from a recent newspaper or magazine (e.g. Maclean's or Time), have students read and pick out political terms and attempt to explain them in their own words. The teacher should have ready access to sources of terms and concepts such as The Language of Canadian Politics by John McMenemy (Toronto: Wiley, 1980).

(5) Key Question:

**Who are some of the key players on the Canadian Political Stage,
both past and present?**

This is an optional section which some teachers have found useful to give students a sense that Political Science is alive with real people - as well as being a good introduction to what is currently going on in Canadian politics.

In **Appendix 1 - C** is found a chart which allows the numbers for Canadian federal and provincial governments to be displayed. One can determine these numbers at the federal level by asking your Member of Parliament to supply a Hansard from the most recent Wednesday on which Parliament has met. This document lists all the members of Parliament by party affiliation. Provinces are more difficult but legislatures will send such lists if asked but the teacher who follows current events fairly closely could obtain the same information by flipping through the last year of Maclean's magazine or Canada and the World, as well as paying close attention to the newspaper coverage of such items. Another useful source is the quarterly Canadian Parliamentary Review which can be obtained by contacting:

The Editor, Canadian Parliamentary Review
House of Commons, Ottawa

An example for Newfoundland is included, updated to early 1993 (see **Appendix 1 - D**). Note that this teacher takes the opportunity to add a brief description of the province's history and its principal political figures. Hurtig's Canadian Encyclopedia is very useful for the background of a particular province.

Suggested Teaching Strategies:

- A. Students might be provided with sources of information and be required to fill in the chart found in **Appendix C**. They might also be asked to use the Canadian Encyclopedia as well as back issues of various magazines to gather biographical information on some Canadian Political figures.
- B. The teacher might decide to present much of this material in lecture form.
- C. Since most of the present Canadian political characters are unfamiliar to most students except as names (and perhaps not even that), it has been found useful to have students gather pictures which are displayed in a *rogue's gallery*.

UNIT TWO - GOVERNMENT

RATIONALE

We are surrounded by government, from the moment of our birth and perhaps even before, until the moment of our death and perhaps even beyond. No issue or activity is too small or too trivial to escape the attention of government and its servants. Questions inevitably arise:

- What is it? Why do we need it? Do we need it?
- Where did the concept of government originate? Did government always exist?
- What does it do for us?
- What must we do for it?
- Why must we obey it? Must we obey it?
- How much government do we need?
- Are there different types of government? How do they differ? Is there one superior form of government?
- Who were, and are, the great political thinkers? What did they think about government?
- What sort of government does Canada have? Is it the best form of government for Canada? Could we change it if we wanted to? How?
- What sort of government does the United States have? Should Canada consider that particular form of government or is the Canadian form superior?

These are a few of the intriguing questions which come to mind when one contemplates the idea of government. Different authors approach the topic in different ways and the teacher may want to consult a number of these before choosing his/her own approach.

(1) Key Question:

What is government?

Government is something which a great many people know very little about but yet most people hold a host of opinions on the subject: too much, too little, too costly, too wasteful, too stupid, too soft, too hard, etc. It is important that the student come to grips with the great questions of government.

Suggested Teaching Strategies:

Students might be asked to answer the following key questions:

- What is government?
- Where did it originate?
- Do we have to obey it?

A wider variety of answers is likely to emerge. Students should be encouraged to realize that these are tough questions, ones that have occupied philosophers for thousands of years.

It would be worthwhile to have students read some of the opinions of these great thinkers on these problems. Pages 16-33 of Baldwin et al are given over to these concerns. Will Durant in his Story of Philosophy (New York: Simon and Schuster) presents a most interesting look at government on page 10.

To encourage debate, students might read the following excerpts. Students might be asked to rewrite each statement in their own words and explain whether they agree or disagree with the statements:

Machiavelli: "For where the very safety of the country depends on the resolution to be taken, no consideration of justice or injustice, humanity or cruelty, nor of glory or of shame shall be allowed to prevail, but putting all other considerations aside, the only question should be what will save the power and the liberty of the country."

Jeremy Bentham: "Mankind is governed by the basic motives of seeking pleasure and avoiding pain...therefore, the aim of all laws must be the greatest happiness for the greatest number...."

John Stuart Mill: "A proper democracy should always safeguard the qualities of variety and personal initiative. It should never be allowed to fall into an excuse for mob rule."

(2) Key Question:

Why is government necessary? Why do we need it?
How much government should there be?

It provides the balance between order and disorder which allows us to develop to the fullest. It attempts to give enough order to protect us while providing sufficient disorder to allow the fullest development. Everyone has a different view about the perfect mixture of order and disorder: see page 3 of Ricker, J. & Saywell, J., How Are We Governed in the 90s? (Toronto: Irwin, 1991).

Suggested Teaching Strategies:

- A. Have students list their activities on a typical day, showing how many of these are effected by government regulation. Then have students contribute their version to the class. A very long list will emerge. Considering this formidable list, have students suggest answers to the question of why we need government. Some suggestions:
- to provide the order that most citizens want, government plays a huge role in the citizen's life before birth to after death.
 - to bridge the gap between the individual, and the thousands of other unknown people who greatly affect our lives. As life has become more complicated in this century, it has become necessary for the government to involve itself in a host of activities which used to belong solely to the individual. More government is needed today to adequately protect the citizen, but as a result the individual loses more of his/her freedom.
 - government allows people to do as a group what they could not accomplish individually. Check out a major engineering system like our road system.
- B. Ask students to consider the amount of government which is needed. Again, answers are likely to be diverse. Attempt to list them on the board in some sort of orderly progression from lack of government to large amounts of government. Place the following spectrum of types of government and their control on the board. It should serve as a reference point to discuss the amount of government needed.

| | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------|--|
| Anarchy | Democracy | Totalitarianism |
| total disorder and freedom | ideal practical | crisis total order and control |

(3) Key Question:

Where did government originate?

Philosophers have suggested a number of theories to explain the origin of government. Generally they break down into the following four theories:

- Natural Origin
- Divine Origin
- Origin by Force
- Origin through a Social Contract

Suggested Teaching Strategies:

- A. Students might be asked to pose answers to this question before turning to Baldwin's Ideologies which examines this question on pages 16-21. See question 7 on page 21 for a brief overview of the various theories.

(4) Key Question:

What different definitions or classifications exist?

Any number of methods have been suggested by countless books as to how to approach the subject of classifying and differentiating between types of governments. Among classification systems considered might be the following:

- According to the manner of selecting the formal head of state: this gives the concept of monarchy, both absolute and limited as well as republic with its strict separation of the legislative, executive and judicial powers enforced by an elaborate series of checks and balances.
- According to the formal distribution of power among the levels of government, giving the unitary and federal forms.
- According to the actual location of the ultimate ruling power - whether it be rule by one, rule by the few, rule by the many, or even rule by none.
- According to the formal legislative-executive relationship, be it parliamentary or presidential.

However and whenever one goes about defining the differences in the forms of government, one is inevitably led to an examination of the various differences between the Canadian governmental system and the American. This is a topic which generally engenders interest among students.

Suggested Teaching Strategies:

- A. The teacher might ask for or list a number of terms which describe the classifications of government and then go over them with the students. The teacher might employ the comparison supplied in **Appendices 2 - A** and **2 - B** to explain the differences between the Canadian and American systems. A debate seems a logical suggestion to conclude this unit.

UNIT THREE - GOVERNMENT IN CANADA

SECTION A: CONSTITUTIONS AND CONSTITUTIONALISM

Introduction

This section looks at the rules that guide the operation of a government - the constitution. It is divided into three sections:

- the first portion explores the meaning of the term *constitution* and the various types of constitutions that exist;
- the second portion traces the evolution of the Canadian constitution;
- the third portion emphasizes the Canadian constitution that we live with today, with special attention to the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

(1) Key Questions:

- (a) What is a Constitution?
- (b) What is the meaning of Constitutionalism?
- (c) How do democratic constitutions differ from non-democratic constitutions?

There are three sources which explain this topic in some detail:

- (a) James John Guy, People Politics & Government, Second Edition (Don Mills: Collier Macmillan, 1990, chapter 10 pp. 280-304). This chapter carries sections entitled "What is a Constitution?", "The Meaning of Constitutionalism", "The Features of Democratic Constitutions", "Canada's Constitution", and "The Constitution of the United States". Included are sections on amending procedures and a useful chart (p. 290) illustrating Canadian federal and provincial government powers.
- (b) Khan, R.A., MacKown, S.A. & McNiven, J.D., An Introduction to Political Science, (Georgetown: Irwin-Dorsey, 1971, chapter 6, pp. 120-153). This chapter deals with "Written and Unwritten Constitutions", "Amending the Constitution", "Development of Constitutional Principles and Practices" and "Unitary and Federal Governments". It includes several tables that provide illustrative comparisons.
- (c) For students, J. Ricker and J. Saywell, How Are We Governed in the 90s? address the question "What Is Canada's Constitution?" (pp. 6 - 9), outlining the differences between written and unwritten constitutions.

Key Terms to introduce:

| | |
|------------------------|--------------------|
| constitution | residual powers |
| written constitution | resolutions |
| unwritten constitution | ratification |
| flexible constitution | unitary government |
| rigid constitution | federal government |
| exclusive powers | concurrent powers |

(2) Key Questions:

(a) How has the Canadian Constitution Evolved?

Ricker and Saywell, How Are We Governed in the '90s? provides a chart (p. 7) that outlines Canada's Written Constitution from the British North America Act to the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

Edwin Fenton, The Shaping of Western Society: An Inquiry Approach, (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974, chapter 5, pp. 115-140) describes the growth of the British Parliament from the Magna Carta, including documents and a five page historical essay tracing parliamentary development.

Students should also be made aware of the evolution of Canadian government in the pre-Confederation time. They should be introduced to the Family Compact of Upper Canada and the Chateau Clique of Lower Canada, the reasons for and consequences of the Rebellions of 1837, including the Durham Report, and the establishment of responsible government in the various BNA colonies. Consultation with the teacher of Canadian history should provide appropriate source material.

Students should also be aware of the federal system adopted at the time of confederation and the distribution of powers between the federal and provincial governments (Sections 91, 92 and 93 of the BNA Act). Ricker and Saywell (chapter 9, pp. 152 - 165) offers answers to the questions "Why does Canada have a federal system?" and "Why has Canada's federal system changed?" and includes a chart (p. 154) with a summary of powers given to each level of government.

Key terms to introduce:

| | |
|----------------------|-------------------------|
| disallowance | equalization |
| centralized | stabilization |
| decentralized | regionalism |
| shared cost programs | co-operative federalism |

Suggested Teaching Strategies:

- A. Have students construct a time line for the growth of responsible government in the various BNA colonies using the parameters 1763-1867.
- B. Have students construct a time line covering the first 100 years of Canada's history which includes important influences and changes to the Canadian constitution. The teacher might wish to provide an outline of dates that should be included (e.g. 1965 - adoption of new Canadian flag, 1952 - first Canadian Governor-General, 1949 - entry of Newfoundland into Confederation) See Appendix 3 - A.
- C. Instructional Resources has a 40 minute video (Evolution of the Canadian Constitution #702057) which traces the development of Canada's Constitution from its roots in the Magna Carta to its patriation in 1982. A guide is available with suggestions and questions.
- D. Appendix 3 - B contains an interview with former Premier Richard Hatfield concerning his wish to have the principle of equalization entrenched in the constitution. Discussion questions are included.
- E. Appendix 3 - C contains a speech by former Liberal Cabinet Minister Serge Joyal concerning minority language issues. Discussion questions are included.

Related Articles:

- 3-1 "The Future of Federalism" by Hon. Jean J. Charest
CPR (Winter 1990/91)
- 3-2 "Joey Smallwood's Vision of Canada" by Joseph Smallwood
CPR (Summer 1992)
- 3-3 "An Eastern Perspective on the Constitution" by Arthur Donahoe
CPR (Autumn 1991)
- 3-4 "A Western Perspective on the Constitution" by Allan E. Blakeney
CPR (Summer 1991)
- 3-5 "Canada's Constitution: A New Austria-Hungary in the Making?"
by Henry Srebrnik CPR (Spring 1992)

(3) Key Questions:

- (a) What is Canada's Constitution today?
- (b) How can our Constitution be changed?
- (c) What changes does Quebec wish to see in the Constitution?

All students should be aware of the ongoing obsession of Canadians to argue about, and attempt to redefine, their constitution. Any person living in Canada during the decade from 1982 to 1992 should be aware of the repatriation of the constitution, the introduction of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, the Meech Lake Accord, and the 1992 national referendum. But, how much does the high school student really know about these topics? This section is designed to explore the meanings behind the headlines.

Suggested Teaching Strategies:

- A. Ricker and Saywell (chapter 8, pp. 128-149) explore the question "What is Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms?" With a clause by clause analysis, they briefly explain the meaning behind the legal text. Included are six studies of charter cases that have been brought before the Supreme Court. Students are asked to make their decisions based on the Charter before the Supreme Court's ruling and rationale is presented.
- B. Contact your local Member of Parliament to obtain class sets of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Each class member should have his/her own copy. This initial contact with your MP might lead to a regular exchange of materials from his/her office to your classroom.
- C. Maclean's In-Class Program provides a Resource Unit called "The Charter of Rights and Freedoms" that includes numerous case studies that could be discussed and explored by the class as a whole, or by small groups. These are available free of charge with enrollment in the program but can be obtained for a fixed cost without a subscription.
- D. Baldwin Ideologies (Case Study 7, pp. 117-125) includes a chapter on "Individual Freedom Versus Group Welfare". The question asked is: "How much control should a democratic government have over the individual's freedom of action?" Are all citizens obligated to obey the law as argued by American President John F. Kennedy, or is some civil disobedience, as displayed by Martin Luther King Jr., justified? An examination of the life of Indian leader Mohandas Gandhi concludes the case study. Numerous questions and research possibilities are offered.

- E. A 60 minute video is available from Instructional resources (The Charter and You #701493 RIGHTS) where the Charter of Rights and Freedoms is explained by a teacher in a classroom setting using visuals and re-enactments.
- F. The popular "Struggle for Democracy" television series produced in 1988 and narrated by Patrick Watson included a 60 minute program entitled "The Rule of Law" which looked at the question "Should the law uphold the rights of the individual or the interests of the community?" A present day look at law enforcement in Toronto, Amsterdam and Kansas is contrasted with the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials following World War II.
- G. To examine the Meech Lake Accord and its pros and cons, Instructional Services has a 24 minute film (Meech Lake: Redefining Canada? #702752) that looks at the various suggested changes to the constitution. After watching the film, play the "what if" game by exploring the likely outcome to Canada if the Meech Lake Accord had been ratified.
- H. Ricker and Saywell explore the question: "Quebec: Why is it different?" (pp. 167 - 181) in which they trace Quebec's struggle for "survival" through the Quiet Revolution, the emergence of the Parti Quebecois and Bill 101, federal policies of the Trudeau government, the 1980 referendum, and the Meech Lake Accord. See Appendix 3 - D for questions relating to this section.
- I. See Appendix 3 - E for an interview with former Liberal Cabinet Minister Serge Joyal in which he promotes the distinctiveness of Quebec society. Discussion questions follow the article.
- J. Have a debate on the topic: "Should we have a Charter of Rights and Freedoms at all?" Should rights and freedoms be guaranteed? Class members might be given specific roles or frames of reference on which to base their positions.

Related Article:

- 3-6 "Constitutional Amendment and Constituent Assemblies"
by Hon. Clyde Wells CPR (Autumn 1991)

UNIT THREE - GOVERNMENT IN CANADA

SECTION B: WHO GOVERNS CANADA?

Introduction

This section introduces the structure of government in Canada and should provide students with a solid grounding in the three levels of government (federal, provincial, municipal) as well as the roles played by the executive, legislative, judicial and public service branches of our governments. Although this section follows a format much like the older "civics" courses, the teacher is expected to provide current illustrations and personalize the topics rather than presenting only the theoretical operations of government in Canada.

A source useful for this section is Ricker and Saywell: "How Does Parliamentary Government Work?" (chapter 6, pp. 86-115).

Teachers might also wish to consult such useful textbooks on Canadian government as Dawson, R.M. The Government of Canada. Resources are also available from various government agencies and departments in Ottawa. The most notable is: the Public Information Office,
House of Commons, Ottawa K1A 0A6

Other material should be scavenged whenever and wherever it appears. Magazines such as Maclean's, Saturday Night, Time and many others have proved resource rich as have daily papers such as the Globe and Mail and, occasionally, local papers.

(1) Key Question:

What is the role of the executive in Canadian government?

(a) (i) What role is played by the Queen?

Suggested Teaching Strategies:

- A. CBC News in Review has produced a 46 minute video, Canada and the Monarchy, that looks into the history of the Monarchy in Canada and its future relevance.
- B. Have a debate on the topic: "Should Canada continue to have a constitutional monarchy?"

(ii) What roles are played by the Governor-General and the Lieutenant-Governor?

Suggested Teaching Strategies:

- A. Have a debate on the topic: "Do we need a Governor-General?" or "Do we need a Lieutenant-Governor?"
- B. A 30 minute film Unbroken Line (IR #203580) provides an historical survey of the office of the Governor-General from its inception to the inauguration of Edward Schreyer.
- C. Government House has information kits available that include a series of fact sheets on the roles and responsibilities of the Governor-General, a feature story on the Order of Canada and a biography and photograph of the Governor-General. The person to contact is:
Mary de Bellefeuille- Percy,
Director of Information Services,
Rideau Hall,
Ottawa

(b) (i) What role is played by the Prime Minister? (the Premier?)

Suggested Sources:

Guy, chapter 6: Executives pp. 174-204

Ricker and Saywell, pp. 100-102 "The Prime Minister"

(ii) How did the Prime Minister (Premier) become the leader of his/her party?

This is an opportunity to explore the organization of a leadership convention. It might be best to key on the most recent selection (such as the Progressive Conservative Convention to replace Brian Mulroney), although a leadership race in progress during the semester you teach would be most opportune.

A possible inclusion here is a comparison with how an American President becomes the leader of his party (the primary road and convention spectacle) and the comparatively low-key way British party leaders are chosen.

(iii) What are the characteristics necessary for a successful leader?

A source to consult is an article in Time () which identifies many of the possible characteristics that determine a person's likelihood of success in becoming a political leader.

(c) How is a Cabinet selected? What are the responsibilities of Cabinet members? Why is the Cabinet so powerful?

Suggested Teaching Strategies:

Appendix 3 - F, "Choosing a Cabinet: A Simulation Exercise" allows students to choose a cabinet of ten members from a list of thirty possibles. A biographical sketch for each is provided as well as step-by-step instructions that should make the process more structured. Students could be divided into groups and be able to justify each cabinet selection in a debate.

Related Article:

3-7 "Cabinet Structure: A Sign-post from the Past?" by Tom Kent
Policy Options (March 1980)

(2) Key Question:

Who makes the laws in Canada?

**(a) How are representatives chosen for our parliaments?
(House of Commons/Legislative Assembly)**

Suggested Sources:

Guy, Chapter 12: Elections and Electoral Systems, pp. 305 - 355.

Ricker and Saywell, chapter 3, How Does Canada's Democracy Work? (pp. 32-51) discusses how elections in Canada are conducted.

Baldwin: Case Study 6 "Voting Behaviors: Rational or Irrational?" pp. (102 - 116)

Suggested Teaching Strategies:

A. Elections Canada provides an excellent free election simulation kit as well as many free and moderately priced resources concerning the electoral process in Canada. The forms attached as Appendix 3-G can be used to order supplies from:

Elections Canada
Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0M6

(b) How is a Bill passed?

Ricker and Saywell present a chart (p.94) in which the steps in passing a bill are explained.

Suggested Teaching Strategy:

A. The Public Information Office of the House of Commons provides a series of brochures, booklets and other materials that are either free of charge or available for a minimal cost. Among these is a booklet by the late Senator Eugene Forsey, a noted authority on Canada's parliamentary system.

Appendix 3 - H, from the *Open House* free publication of the PIO, contains a summary of how a bill becomes a law.

B. The text Canada Today by D.J. McDevitt, A.L. Skully and C.F. Smith (Prentice Hall, 1979) was used in the History 103 course. A chart on page 102 shows how a bill becomes a law by using cartoon characters. Copies of this text may still be available in most schools. Unit Two, Chapter 1 (pp. 82 - 126) attempts to answer the question "How does Canada's system of government work?", and could be a useful source for some students.

(i) What is the importance of Question Period?

Suggested Sources:

Ricker and Saywell p. 95

Suggested Teaching Strategy:

The teacher might wish to tape a Question Period from the Parliamentary Channel and discuss the strategies used by both the opposition parties in the design of their questions and the Cabinet members in their method of reply.

(ii) What roles do parliamentary committees perform?

Suggested Teaching Strategy:

Guy has a table listing the Standing Committees of Parliament (p. 217) while the House of Common's publication *Hansard* includes the membership of each parliamentary committee in the Wednesday edition. A copy may be obtained from your local Member of Parliament. Since each Member of Parliament is a member of several parliamentary committees, he/she might be invited to speak to the class about the function of these committees and the role each member plays in the committee system.

(iii) What is the role of the Private Member?

Suggested Teaching Strategy:

A. Have your local Member of Parliament visit your classroom to describe the his/her day to day activities and responsibilities in fulfilling the job of MP.

Related Articles:

3 - 8 "Profile of a Private Member" by Paul Thomas
CPR (Summer 1991)

3 - 9 "Parliament and the Private Member" by Keith Penner
CPR (Summer 1991)

B. The CBC has produced *The Canadian Parliamentary Video*, a 30 minute video available from Instructional Services (# 702180). Narrated by parliamentary correspondent Don Newman, this visual complement comes with a detailed Teacher's Guide that is filled with questions and suggestions for student projects.

(c) How are members of the House of Senate selected? What functions are performed by Senators?

Suggested Sources:

Ricker and Saywell, pp. 104 - 109

A wealth of information is available from:

Senate Information Services, Room 300-VB,
The Senate of Canada,
Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0A4

Among the collections available are Information Kits, Senate Reform Kits, and Teacher's Kits. Information Services also distributes, upon written request, thousands of Senate committee reports each year that cover issues ranging from defence through youth to soil erosion.

Suggested Teaching Strategies:

- A. Conduct a debate on the topic: "Do we need a Senate?"
- B. Have students research the topic of senate reform or abolition. Particularly useful as a source is a publication from the Special Joint Committee on Senate Reform (1984), a copy of which may be obtained from:

Canadian Government Publishing Centre,
Supply and Services Canada,
Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0S9

Related Articles:

- 3 - 10 "Reflections on Canada's First Senate *Election*" by Patrick Malcolmson
CPR (Autumn 1991)
- 3 - 11 "Senate Representation: The Political Dimension"
CPR (Autumn 1990)
- 3 - 12 "The Representative Function of the Senate in the Socio-demographic Dimension" CPR (Winter 1990/91)

(3) Key Question:

What role does the Judiciary play in the Canadian parliamentary system?

Suggested Sources:

Guy, Chapter 9: Law and the Judiciary, pp. 258 - 279

Ricker and Saywell, chapter 7, pp. 118 - 125

Canada's System of Justice, a 38 page booklet published by authority of the Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada, Government of Canada is available free from:

Communications and Public Affairs,
Department of Justice Canada,
Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0H8

(a) What is the rule of law? What is the difference between criminal law and civil law? How is the court system in Canada organized?

The teacher should refrain from going into detail in this section since it is the domain of the Law 120 course. A brief overview of the judicial system is all that is required.

Suggested Teaching Strategy:

Ricker and Saywell provide a five point list of the meaning of the rule of law (pp. 119-120). Take each of these points and have your students provide concrete evidence to support (or refute) their validity.

(b) What functions are performed by the Supreme Court of Canada?

(4) Key Question:

Who makes sure that public policies are carried out?

In this section students should be made aware of the jobs performed by the Public Service in ensuring that the policies which governments wish to enact do, in fact, reach the people they are intended to influence.

Suggested Sources:

Guy, Chapter 8: The Administration of Government, pp. 234 - 257

Ricker & Saywell, "Are We Governed by the Civil Service?", pp. 112 - 115

(5) Key Question:

In the Canadian federal system, what roles are performed by Provincial and Municipal governments?

Suggested Source:

Ricker & Saywell, chapter 10: "Provincial and Local Governments:
What Role Do They Play?" pp. 182 - 199

(a) Provincial Governments

Teachers may wish to do a comparative study of the various provincial governments across the country, or could concentrate on government in the province of New Brunswick. Some topics that might be explored in an investigation of politics in New Brunswick are:

1. The Program of Equal Opportunity

Suggested Teaching Strategies:

- A. During the N.B bicentennial year the CBC produced a 30 minute film narrated by Paddy Gregg (Program of Equal Opportunities #700484) that can be obtained from Instructional Resources. This can be used for historical background to this important political policy change in the history of this province.
- B. The National Film Board documentary (*Robichaud* #C 0190 085) is a 53 minute video featuring the life and times of one of the most colourful and controversial politicians in our history. The Program of Equal Opportunity is only one of many topics examined; the many conflicts with K.C. Irving and the linguistic legislation of "Little Louis" are major topics of this film.
- C. An appropriate teacher source is Equal Opportunity Revisited by Rankine M. Smith, a look at the Byrne Commission and the various aspects of the program of equal opportunity that was adopted by the Robichaud government.

2. Bilingualism in New Brunswick

Suggested Teaching Strategies:

A. A good teacher source is Catherine Steele's Can Bilingualism Work? Attitudes Toward Language Policy in New Brunswick: The 1985 Public Hearings on the Poirier-Bastarache Report. This short book was written before the emergence of the Confederation of Regions Party as a political force but Steele's analysis shows how a right wing (radical?) party of this type could arise.

B. Invite a member of the Confederation of Regions Party to your class to find out the policy of that Party toward bilingualism in New Brunswick. Students should be prepared to pose pertinent questions to the speaker.

Related Article:

3 - 13 "Language and Politics in New Brunswick" by Emery M. Fanjoy
CPR (Summer 1990)

3. The Political Career of Richard Hatfield

Several Sources available / especially cartoons by Telegraph-Journal editorial cartoonist Josh Beutel.

4. The Provincial Ombudsman

Suggested Teaching Strategies:

A unit with lesson plans and materials (including a video, case studies and unit test) for a five or six day study is available from Instructional Services (#701311)

5. The Provincial Legislature

A. Arrange a field trip to the Provincial Legislature by contacting the Office of the Clerk of the Legislature, Mr. David Peterson. Guided tours and meetings with prominent politicians can be arranged by contacting the offices of the various political parties in Fredericton.

Related Article:

3 - 14 "Renovating the New Brunswick Legislative Building"
by Robert Power and Colin Smith CPR (Summer 1990)

(b) Municipal Governments and Local Issues

The local village, town or city government provides the basic services that are seen by citizens on a day to day basis. Students should be made aware of what services are provided and where the financing for these services comes from.

Suggested Teaching Strategies:

- A. Arrange a class visit to see the local council in operation. If this is logistically impossible, arrange a visit to the town or city hall and have the Mayor or a representative explain the role played by this government.
- B. Obtain copies of the local by-laws of the municipality and discuss the relevance of selected items. Students should be challenged to choose by-laws that may be obsolete and suggest how they can be improved. Have them suggest by-laws that should be passed to improve their community.
- C. Each year around budget time, the local newspapers present, in graphic form, the projected expenditures and revenues for the municipality. A research project could involve finding the projected budget from the previous year and comparing it, item by item, with the actual expenditures during that year.
- D. School Boards in New Brunswick are elected bodies. Students could visit meetings of the Board to see how these meetings are conducted and the types of issues with which they are concerned. The class may wish to present the School Board with a Brief suggesting how the services in their District, and the educational system in general, might be improved.

UNIT THREE - GOVERNMENT IN CANADA

SECTION C: INFLUENCES ON GOVERNMENT

(1) Key Question:

What are polls and what influence do polls have on the political process?

Students should be made aware of the purpose behind public opinion polls and the ways they are conducted. They should be encouraged to be critical of each and every poll and to analyze polls by checking sample sizes, subject group, type of questions asked, randomness of sample and other variables that can skew results and produce misleading information - sometimes deliberately so.

The referendum, although used regularly in the United States, is becoming more popular in Canada as a method of discovering public opinion on a major issue. Students should explore the benefits, and drawbacks, of this kind of "direct democracy".

Suggested Sources:

Baldwin, Case Study 6: Voting Behaviour: Rational or Irrational?
pp. 103 - 113 and

"Polls and the Electorate" pp. 113 - 114

Boyko, Case Study 2, "Politics and Polls", pp. 97-99

Kahn, "Measuring Public Opinion" pp. 70 - 76

Suggested Teaching Strategies:

- A. Gallup (and other) polls are frequently published in local newspapers. Have students analyse the results of these polls. This could be a weekly project with a different student or group of students responsible for presenting an analysis to the class for discussion.
- B. The results of the referendum of October, 1992 on the Charlottetown Accords could be analysed to bring forth reasons for its rejection. Students could debate the question: "Is the referendum a useful way in which to determine constitutional issues."
- C. Conduct a class debate on whether or not public opinion polls should be allowed during election campaigns.

(2) Key Question:

How does the mass media influence the political process?

Suggested Sources:

Guy, "Expressing Public Opinions" pp. 32 - 38

Ricker & Saywell, Chapter 5: "Should We Rely on the Mass Media?"
pp. 70 - 85

Related Article:

"Canadian Influence on the United States' Mass Media" by Alf Pratt
CPR (Summer 1990)

Suggested Teaching Strategies:

- A. Conduct a class discussion on the topic of the private life of a public official. How much private information about a politician should the media be allowed to make public? What is "fair game" and what is not? The Canadian and American media can be compared as to their lust for sensationalism.
- B. Discuss the importance of a media personality in "creating a politician". Use a talk show host like Larry King of CNN as a central figure in your discussions.
- C. Have students collect editorials on political issues from various local and national papers. Analyse each of these editorials to determine what biases can be shown by the editors.
- D. Canadian intellectual Marshall MacLuhan promoted his vision of *the medium being the message*. What did he mean by this statement? How important is the media to political life in Canada? Students and teachers can get information on MacLuhan in Boyko, pp. 79-81.
- E. The political cartoon is a very powerful tool in the arsenal of media, especially newspapers and magazines. Editorial cartoons should be used regularly by teachers and students in following current events. Canadian cartoonists are second to none when it comes to exposing and commenting upon politicians foils and foibles. An excellent look at Canada's political cartoonists is *The Hecklers*, (IR #702351 VB) a 59 minute film featuring cartoonists Duncan MacPherson and Aislin (Terry Mosher) among others.

(3) Key Question:

What influences do pressure groups have on the political process?

Suggested Sources:

Guy, "Pressure Groups" pp. 342 - 351

Baldwin, Case Study 8: "Pressure Groups, Lobbyists, and Democracy in Canada" pp. 126 - 137

Suggested Teaching Strategies:

- A. Choose a controversial topic such as the use of animal pelts for fashion. Investigate the various interest groups that pressure governments to support their position. Find out what actions governments can take to favour one or more of the interest groups.

Sources: NFB film *Pelts: Politics of the Fur Trade* is available through Instructional Services (#702864). This 57 minute video attempts to present the various interest groups in an objective manner, allowing for students to make up their own minds on this issue. This film should promote much class discussion.

Also available is a simulation game produced by the Fur Institute of Canada. It is called "People, Animals and the Environment" and is available free of charge through:

P.J. Pratt & Associates Inc.
Inservice Training and Distribution Centre
3495 Laird Rd., Unit 12
Mississauga, Ontario L5L 5S5

- B. A related issue is the attempt by Natives in Labrador to prevent low-level flying of NATO bombers over their territory. Although this is now a moot point due to the end of the Cold War, the film *Hunters & Bombers* (NFB #C 9190 130, 53 minutes) presents a conflict between Natives and the existing government, one that may be played out in other parts of the country.
- C. In New Brunswick the Irving group of companies and the MacCain interests play a large role in the economy. Have the students discuss the possible influences these large businesses have on political decisions made in the province in such matters as environmental protection, transportation policy and labour legislation.

D. Multinational corporations like General Motors, IBM and Exxon have gross sales greater than the Gross Domestic Products of many nations. (See chart in Boyko, p. 173)

What power can these corporations exert on the economic, political and cultural decisions made by provincial or national governments? Have students conduct research on the influences of multinational corporations in their own communities.

(4) Key Question:

What is the role of Canada in the International Political System and what influence does this have on decisions made in Canada?

Suggested Sources:

Guy, chapter 12, The International System pp. 387 - 419

Boyko, chapter 11, "International Government Organizations" pp. 155 - 167 and chapter 12, "International Non-Governmental Organizations", pp. 172 - 183

Canada is involved with many international governmental and non-governmental organizations. Students should find out why Canada has become involved, and the degree that Canada has become involved with each of these groups. Some of the organizations that might be explored are:

Canadian International Development Organization (CIDA)

United Nations (General Organization)

United Nations Peacekeeping Force

United Nations Security Council

North Atlantic Treaty Organization

Organization of American States

Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries

Commonwealth

La Francophonie

European Community

International Red Cross

International Olympic Committee

Amnesty International

World Council of Churches

Free Trade Agreement with United States

North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)

Suggested Teaching Strategies:

- A. This section lends itself to student project work, either on an individual basis or in groups. The appropriate organizations should be contacted for the most recent information available.
- B. Students might discuss how involved the Canadian government should be in each of the international organizations. Care should be taken to ensure that specific reasoning is given to support the stand taken concerning the various international GOs or NGOs.

UNIT FOUR - POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES AND PARTIES

Rationale

According to Boyko (Politics: Conflict and Compromise): "A study of ideologies is an essential part of the study of politics." Ideologies serve three important functions:

- (1) they help people understand their society because they provide a common base of shared values,
- (2) they allow people and governments to justify or explain past actions, and
- (3) governments and societies also use ideologies to set future goals and policies.

Since the understanding of concepts is central in the social studies, it is incumbent upon the teacher to investigate both the theoretical meaning and the practical applications of several fundamental ideologies. Based upon knowledge and comfort level, each teacher must decide how deeply to explore in this unit.

Suggested Sources:

One of the best sources for teachers who decide to make an in-depth approach to this fascinating aspect of political science is found in Khan, MacKown, McNiven, An Introduction to Political Science where from pages 341 to 351 the idea of ideologies is examined and then followed up with a look at least six of the major ideologies with a fairly comprehensive glance at the Canadian ideological situation. **Appendix 4 - A** is one adaptation of this particular text's approach to the subject. If time permits, the teacher would have the student read and answer the kinds of questions raised in this handout.

Another source is Guy, People, Politics and Government (2nd Edition) where contemporary political ideologies are discussed in chapter 3 (pp. 71 - 112). After defining ideology, Guy explores the democratic ideologies of liberalism, conservatism and democratic socialism before looking at communism. He then looks at nationalism, anarchism, and even feminism to determine whether the latter is an ideology or a movement. The information provided by both Khan et al and Guy is intended for university audiences and must be adapted by the teacher for use by high school students.

A more basic treatment of ideologies for the high school student can be found in Boyko, Politics: Conflict and Compromise. Unit 3 includes three chapters that explore the topic of ideologies:

Chapter 8 (pp. 102 - 112) introduces the Political Spectrum before defining and offering examples of proponents of conservatism, liberalism, socialism, communism and fascism;

Chapter 9 (pp.117 - 128) explores the evolution of democracy, briefly touching on specific countries with democratic traditions (England, United States, France) and explaining the principles of modern democracy;

Chapter 10 (pp. 133 - 144) looks at the authoritarian state, the evolution of authoritarianism, the characteristics of authoritarian governments, and the methods they use to control society.

An excellent two page outline of ideologies comes from Canada & the World (February 1973) and as part of the Backgrounder "Politics" issue. Entitled "Ideology: The Various Shades of Political Opinion", this provides a quick summary of much of the information provided in the above sources, including a useful graphic. (See **Appendix 4 - B**)

(1) Key Questions:

What is meant by democracy?
What are its basic characteristics?
What are some drawbacks in a democracy?

Suggested Source:

Baldwin, Chapter 3 (*The World's Political Systems: The Ideals of Democracy*), pp. 35 - 49

Suggested Teaching Strategy:

A. Compare the system of democracy in Sweden with what we experience in Canada. Are there ways in which Sweden is governed that can, or should, be adopted by Canada? Explain. (Use Case Study 2 - *Democracy in Sweden*, pp. 65 - 71)

Note: Thought-webbing technique on page 71

(a) What is classical liberalism and how has liberalism changed since the nineteenth century? What are the beliefs of a liberal today?

Suggested Sources:

- A. See Appendix 4 - A for an example of how the characteristics of a concept can be presented to students.
- B. Couture et al, Approaches to Political and Economic Systems, contains two chapters that deal with liberalism. Chapter 1 (pp. 10 - 21) looks at the meaning of classical liberalism while chapter 2 (pp. 22 - 53) includes several case studies concerning *Liberalism in Action*.
- C. See Guy, *Liberalism*, pp. 81 - 83
- D. See Khan, *Liberalism: Classical Liberalism, Reform Liberalism, Canadian Liberalism*, pp. 353 - 369.

(b) What is meant by conservatism?

Suggested Source:

- A. See Guy, *Conservatism*, pp. 83 - 85
- B. See Khan, *Conservatism, Classical Conservatism, Romantic Conservatism, Canadian Conservatism*, pp. 370 - 383.

Suggested Teaching Strategy:

Use fictional narrative *Political Values and the American Revolution* in Baldwin (pp. 27 - 31) Table 2-1 outlines ten different *Beliefs About Good Government* on page 30. The focus questions on page 31 provide an opportunity to see whether students understand the concepts they have learned.

(c) What is meant by democratic socialism and how does it differ from utopian socialism?

Suggested Sources:

- A. Couture, Chapter 5, *Democratic Socialism* (pp. 92 - 105), and Chapter 6, *Democratic Socialism in Action* (pp. 106 -119). This source looks at the contributions and ideas of various socialist thinkers from Rousseau to the Fabian Society to J.S. Woodsworth. It also includes several Case Studies featuring the influence of socialism in Sweden, France and Canada, among other nations.
- B. See Guy, *Democratic Socialism*, pp. 85 - 87
- C. See Khan, *Socialism, Utopian Socialism*, pp. 385-391, *Democratic Socialism: Fabian Socialism, Continental Democratic Socialism, Canadian Socialism*, pp. 411-417.

(2) Key Question:

What are the characteristics of an authoritarian form of government?

Suggested Source:

Baldwin, Chapter 4, *The World's Political Systems: Authoritarian Forms of Government*, (pp. 153 - 165) explains the different types of authoritarian regimes under the headings - *The Great Man Theory*, Dictatorship, Military Coups, Totalitarianism and Ideology, and Fascism.

(a) In theory, how does Marxism differ from Fascism?

Suggested Sources:

- A. Couture offers a theoretical look at both Marxism (Chapter 3, pp. 54 - 64) and Fascism (Chapter 7, pp. 130 - 144). It is useful to expose students to the ideas that drive those who become such avid supporters of these causes; however, care must be taken not to become so theoretical that the students become completely confused with theories.
- B. *The Ideas of Karl Marx* is an EAV two filmstrip/cassette set that highlights the background of Marx, the era in which his ideas were developed, and the basic theory of Marxism.
- C. Guy, Chapter 3, explores Communist Ideology (pp. 87 - 96), looking at Leninism, Trotskyism, Stalinism, Titoism, Khrushchevism, and Maoism, showing how each differs from Marxism.
- D. Khan, *Marxian Socialism, Soviet Communism: Leninism, Stalinism, Chinese Communism*, pp. 391-403.

(b) How do authoritarian governments achieve power?

Suggested Source:

In Baldwin, Chapter 4 (Case Study 11, pp. 183 - 204), examples are given of how Mussolini came to power in Italy, Mao in China, and Batista and Castro in Cuba.

(c) How do authoritarian governments maintain power?

Suggested Sources:

- A. In Baldwin, Chapter 4 (Case Study 12, pp. 205 - 219), Nazi Germany under the leadership of Hitler is used as an example. Since all students have studied the Nazi era in the Modern History 111/112/113 course, this topic should prove a useful review of a prime example of a right-wing dictatorship in action.
- B. The apartheid system promoted in the Republic of South Africa since 1948 should be looked at as an example of how a minority group can control and dominate a much larger majority. Baldwin, Chapter 4 (Case Study 13, pp. 220 - 235), offers an historical background to apartheid, a look at White, Black and *Brown* Parties, and the Homelands question. Since events are unfolding daily in the politics of South Africa, students should follow media reports to see how the South Africa of today differs from the account given in Baldwin.
- C. Couture offers several Case Studies of both *Marxism in Action* (Chapter 4, pp. 65 - 91) and *Fascism in Action* (Chapter 8, pp. 145 - 161)

(3) Key Question:

What is the Role of a Political Party?

Political Parties exist in both democracies and authoritarian governments alike. However, the roles played by the parties differ dramatically from nation to nation. The Liberal Party in Britain is a minor one on the current political scene while the Liberal Party of Canada is one of the major players.

In this section, students should explore the concept of political parties, first in Canada, and then in other nations. (It is obvious that in teaching about government in Canada in Unit 3, it is necessary to become familiar with the Canadian Parties.) This is also an opportunity to look at groups and associations, such as the Ku Klux Klan and the Irish Republican Army, that attempt to promote their ideas by other than democratic means.

Suggested Sources:

- A. Baldwin, Chapter 3 (Case Study 5, pp. 92 - 101), *The Role of Political Parties in Democracy*, offers a definition and traces the origin of political parties, looks at one, two, and multi-party systems, and compares the strengths and weaknesses of political parties in Canada.
- B. Ricker and Saywell, Chapter 4 (pp. 52 - 69) poses the question: *What Are Political Parties?* as well as the sub-questions: *What does a Political Party stand for? How are Political Parties organized? and How important is the Party Leader?*
- C. Guy, Chapter 11 (pp. 306 - 341), explores Political Parties under the headings: *What is a Political Party?, Functions of Political Parties, Political Party Systems, Party Organization and Structure, The Future of Political Parties*
- D. The February, 1984 issue of *Canada and the World* includes a feature report on *The New Right*. Topics include the rise of the Moral Majority in the United States, the New Right in Canada, and extremist groups such as the KKK and the Western Guard.

(4) Key Question:

- And what about you?**
(a) What can an individual do?
(b) What is your ideology?

TEXTBOOKS - SELECT ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. IDEOLOGIES (2nd Edition) by Douglas Baldwin, Bob Berube, Larry Booi, David Jones, Douglas Ramsay and Thomas Spira (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1992)

This second edition text is an expanded version of IDEOLOGIES that has been used in Political Science 120 over the last decade. It is the single best source available that can fit into the suggested curriculum since it combines Canadian content with international politics.

IDEOLOGIES uses case studies to investigate the world's political and economic systems, from the democracies of Sweden, Mexico and France to the authoritarian governments of Mussolini, Mao, Batista and Castro. The theory and practice of government in the former Soviet Union are explained while the nationalities problem correctly forecast the recent breakup. Historical insight is shown in the section on South Africa as that country enters a new era after apartheid. The process of change in Eastern Europe is explored as are governments in selected developing world countries.

Case studies are also presented on the role of political parties, voting behaviours, pressure groups and lobbyists as well as a section on female suffrage.

This text can be usefully integrated into the proposed Political Science 120 course. It is written in language easily understood by grade 12 students and contains charts, tables, cartoons and other visuals that should enhance the learning process.

2. PEOPLE, POLITICS & GOVERNMENT (2nd Edition) by James John Guy (Don Mills: Collier Macmillan, 1990)

This source includes the major topic areas for an introductory political science text while placing them in a Canadian context.

The text is well organized into 16 chapters with scholarly references and a glossary of terms at the end of each chapter. The chapters are divided internally into topic areas which are headlined. Photos are shown only at the beginning of each chapter and charts (most fairly easy to interpret) present the only visuals. This is essentially an academic text of over 400 pages designed for quite literate students. It does challenge the student, and teachers must be prepared to provide direct and specific questions when referring students to sections in the text.

The scope of the text is extensive and it would be impossible to complete all sections - although most chapters fall within the guidelines of the course outline. Since the reading level is advanced for most students, care must be taken when assigning particular sections; because of this, PEOPLE, POLITICS & GOVERNMENT would be used best as a teacher resource.

Most of the first chapter (*What is Politics?*) is too *deep* for most high school students and should be avoided. In all chapters the author introduces the Canadian component and usually follows through with a comparison of the United States and Great Britain. The author uses examples from governments on all continents and is as relatively current (1990) in a world constantly in political flux.

The chief criticism of this text is the reading level which has proved to be very demanding for many high school students. However, if high standards are to be maintained in Political Science 120, this is a very useful text for this course.

3. AN INTRODUCTION TO POLITICAL SCIENCE by Rais A. Khan, Stuart A. MacKown and James D. McNiven (Georgetown, Ontario: Irwin-Dorsey, 1992)

Much like the previous source by Guy, this text provides the basic information necessary for the teacher of an introductory Political Science course. It is essentially theoretical in approach although it does cite examples to support the theoretical statements. A second edition is now available to update the examples given.

This was one of the texts made available when the Political Science course was introduced two decades ago, so many schools may have class sets available for use. In several topic areas, AN INTRODUCTION TO POLITICAL SCIENCE explains concepts in a very clear way; unfortunately, its lack of visuals makes it far from appealing to the student of the 1990s.

4. HOW ARE WE GOVERNED IN THE '90s? by John Ricker & John Saywell (Concord, Ontario: Irwin, 1991)

A second text that should be assigned to each student in Political Science, HOW ARE WE GOVERNED IN THE '90s? is written in a manner that should be easily understood by the average student. As a result, it

would complement sources like PEOPLE, POLITICS & GOVERNMENT and AN INTRODUCTION TO POLITICAL SCIENCE since it includes most of the same topics. It deals strictly with politics from a Canadian standpoint, and therefore is more limited than the other sources. Its strength lies in the presentation of questions that are built one on another to develop a section.

There are some excellent reasons for using this text:

- a. Chapter 8 deals with the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, providing interpretations of various clauses. Several case studies, coming directly from court challenges based on the Charter should interest the students.
 - b. Chapter 9 (Canadian Federalism) focuses on Regionalism and *Alienation*, especially concerning Quebec. Topics on Quebec include a section entitled *Why is it Different?*; a very good summary of *The Problem*; an explanation of the theme *Maitres Chez Nous*; and the meaning of sovereignty-association.
 - c. Chapter 10 (Provincial and Local Governments: What role do they play?) presents an element that is missing from other general texts. It is essential that these levels of government be included in the Political Science 120 course since they are closer to the students. For this chapter alone, this text will be useful.
 - d. Attention is given to the mechanics of an election, the role of women in politics, influence of the mass media, the importance of image, grass-roots campaigning and fundraising, and Senate reform. Mention is made of the 1987 provincial election shutout in New Brunswick.
5. POLITICS: CONFLICT & COMPROMISE by John Boyko (Don Mills: Oxford, 1990)

Although POLITICS: CONFLICT & COMPROMISE combines theoretical background, political ideologies and a significant amount of Canadian content, and its reading level is easy for a high school student, it does not present the depth of topic coverage necessary to be the sole text for a grade 12 course. It would be useful as a supplementary source for students who would have difficulty with sources like PEOPLE, POLITICS & GOVERNMENT or AN INTRODUCTION TO POLITICAL SCIENCE.

The organization of POLITICS: CONFLICT & COMPROMISE is good. It begins with a theoretical foundation and extends its focus to the

present. The topics are introduced in a specific no words wasted form that should allow students to comprehend without teacher assistance. The comparative method is followed throughout. Great Britain and the United States are frequently used as examples.

The visuals in this text are very good. They are not haphazard and token as appear in many texts, and they are current to 1990. Major sections feature International Governmental Organizations and Non-Governmental Organizations while an entire unit features topics on War and Peace. Following each of the 15 chapters is a 2 to 4 page section on a specific political leader, while there are five case studies on topics ranging from *Politics and Polls* to the *Vietnam War*.

6. COUNTRIES AND CONCEPTS: AN INTRODUCTION TO COMPARATIVE POLITICS (3rd Edition) by Michael G. Roskin (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1989)

This text will prove useful as a teacher sourcebook. It is designed specifically for university use and as such is inappropriate for the average high school student; however, the brighter students would have no problem with it.

The spotlight is on 7 nations: Great Britain, France, West Germany (before unification and therefore dated), Soviet Union (before the breakup and also dated), Brazil and South Africa. The author has followed a consistent format by approaching each of these countries under five headings:

- (a) The Impact of the Past - an excellent historical summary for each nation (History 112 teachers should note).
- (b) The Key Institutions - particularly effective for political science.
- (c) Political Attitudes - the predisposition of a people toward certain political regimes.
- (d) Patterns of Interaction - how things are done at present within each nation.
- (e) What People Quarrel About - current topics of major concern within each nation.

Frequent boxes contain bits of information and anecdotes, charts and visuals that make the book more appealing.

7. THE CANADIAN POLITICAL TRADITION - BASIC READINGS Edited by R.S. Blair & J.T McLeod (Methuen, 1987)

This book provides a series of 27 articles on politics in Canada which range from 10 to 20 pages each. It is divided into four sections: The Constitution and Federalism; Ideas and Society; People and Politics; and Government and Power. Its editors claim that it contains the "classic analyses of various aspects of Canadian government and politics" and the list of contributors from the field of political science in Canada would tend to support such a claim.

This is an excellent sourcebook for teachers and a handy source for students doing specific, related projects.

8. AN APPROACH TO GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS: A CONCEPTUAL APPROACH (2nd edition) by Mark O. Dickerson & Thomas Flanagan (Nelson, 1988)

A general introductory textbook on political science for university students, this book is divided into four sections: Basic Concepts; Ideology; Forms of Government; and The Political Process. The only visuals used are charts. It is strong on concept formation and definitions of political terms.

It has a six page case study of the forestry industry in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia and the dilemma posed to these governments by the spruce budworm issue. This is a good sourcebook for teachers but is too scholarly for the average high school student.

9. CONFLICT AND UNITY: AN INTRODUCTION TO CANADIAN POLITICAL LIFE by Roger Gibbins (Nelson, 1988)

This is a university text that deals with Canadian politics in an historical perspective. The dynamics of politics are explored through issues and conflicts.

Chapter 3 on language politics gives an historic view of linguistic problems in Canada. Other chapters look at relationships between levels of governments, regions, political parties, and between Canada and the United States. The cartoons used to present a point of view are particularly well chosen.

A six page appendix gives 24 guidelines on the writing of a term paper which would be useful for any student.

Appendix A - Sample Opening Lesson Plan

Lesson I - What is politics? What is Political Science?

What are you doing here?

What prompted you to select this course?

What do you expect to learn?

What specific political things do you wish to find out about?

FIRST ASSIGNMENT - MY EXPECTATIONS from Poli Sci- perhaps done in class or at home that night. Generally, students list most of the topics which the course intends to address but in student terms and this is a useful exercise. One might return the students' assignment to them on the last day of the course, allowing them to evaluate their progress.

"Hopefully you are here because of an interest or the suspicion of an interest in whatever "politics" is. If so, you are taking the course at a great time for we are living in INCREDIBLY interesting political times".

At this point make a quick overview of the present major political stories in the international, national, provincial and local realms. Have the students suggest what these stories are and use this opportunity to give a brief background to those who are new to the stories. This is a great introduction to the political situation and to the idea that politics is alive and well in current events, not dead in a textbook.

There will be no lack of interesting topics, no matter the year. Point out that if these things intrigue the student, and they want to know what makes the political world go round - this should be the class for them.

What is Political Science?

In simplest terms, it is the study of how people come together with other people to create an organized, stable existence. It is a study of:
- who has the power and the authority? how did they get it? What are they doing with it? How it can be taken away from them?

Politics exists on many levels - it can be seen in the family, the school, the church but we most often use the term in its municipal, provincial, national or international context.

We will begin with a study of the current players in the Canadian political parade, otherwise you cannot follow and enjoy the game.

Later, we will study government in theory - Is government necessary? Do I have to obey? How are individual rights reconciled with community rights? We will also look at the actual workings of the Canadian system, which is often miles removed from the theory.

Throughout we will see how "WE" fit in and the role of Joe and Josephine Citizen can play for too often, the average person feels disassociated from government which supposedly serves him.

As well, we will follow current happenings daily. THUS, you must begin today to follow and learn of current situation. Turn your radio on, tune in the telly, open those newspapers. Following current events is fascinating and fun, once you get the hang of it and a feel for it.

A teacher might want to play a particularly apt and interesting segment from AIR FARCE or some other current events show at this moment.

WHAT WILL THIS COURSE DO FOR YOU?

1. Hopefully, it will widen your political horizons, forcing you to think and rethink your own political stance. It will get you to ask questions, which is the easy part, and provide some of the answers.
2. It will develop an awareness and understanding of the basic political issues of the day.
3. How does Canada work? How can I get involved? How can I watch clearly and critically?

Appendix B - Sample Lesson Plan on Introductory Terminology

Initially, there is a problem of terminology which could be met by a short unit such as follows. One might ask the students to suggest terms which they find difficult or one might resort to the following quotation.

"Canadian government might be described as federal rather than unitary, limited monarchy rather than republic, parliamentary rather than presidential, democratic rather than authoritarian, bicameral rather than unicameral and usually majority rather than minority." If one is to speak about the Canadian situation, one must be able to define these terms.

Unitary vs Federal : Unitary describes a situation where there is only one supreme level of government, all power vested in that one level although that level may delegate some authority to a local or municipal government. Britain is a good example of the unitary system.

Federalism describes a situation where there are two levels of government, each of which is supreme in its own area of responsibility. Either of these may delegate authority to an other government. Canada is such a system with the central government in Ottawa looking after certain areas of concern while the ten provincial governments look after other matters. The provinces often delegate power to local municipal governments.

Limited Monarchy vs Republic: a monarchy denotes a situation where the head of state is chosen by hereditary means while a republic uses some other method, usually some form of democracy. Monarchies come in many varieties from absolute where the monarch holds all the power to very limited where the monarchy is largely ceremonial.

Democratic vs Authoritarian : Democratic conveys some image of the people having some say through the vote while Authoritarian conveys a system where one person or a small group of persons controls all the power and voting, if it exists, is a sham.

Democracies usually have elections and in Canada there can be several sorts :

- federal general - where all the federal seats are up for grabs
- provincial general - where all the provincial seats are up for grabs
- federal byelection - where only the federal seats of someone who has died or resigned or been forced out are up for grabs.
- provincial byelection - where only the provincial seats of someone who has dies or resigned or been forced out are up for grabs.

General elections are called for one of the following three reasons:

1. The time limit imposed by the constitution (five years maximum) is due to end
2. The government has lost a vote of confidence in the legislature and must call an election.
3. The Prime Minister or Premier , having served a goodly portion of their mandate (usually at least three years), think that the time is right to win so they have the

authority to call the election.

Bicameral vs Unicameral : unicameral describes a parliament which has only one house where laws must be passed whereas bicameral has two houses. The New Brunswick provincial government is bicameral for laws must be passed only by the Legislative Assembly. Our federal system is bicameral for to pass a law , it must be passed by both the House of Commons and the Senate.

Majority vs Minority : Majority describes a situation where one party holds at least $50\% + 1$ of the seats in the parliament, and thus exercises effective control. Minority describes a situation where no party holds $50\% + 1$ of the seats and thus no party controls the parliament by itself.

CANADIAN POLITICAL SITUATION

PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURES

FEDERAL PARLIAMENT

Date of last election: _____

| Province | Premier | Party | Number of Seats | P.C. | Lib. | N.D.P. | Others | Vacant | Last Election | Majority or Minority | Opposition Leader | Number of Seats | P.C. | Lib. | N.D.P. | Others |
|----------|---------|-------|--------------------|------|------|--------|--------|--------|------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|------|------|--------|--------|
| Nfld. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| P.E.I. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| N.S. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| N.B. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Que. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ont. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Man. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sask. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Alb. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| B.C. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| N.W.T. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yukon | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | Total | | | | | |

Appendix D - The Newfoundland Situation

NEWFOUNDLAND

PROVINCIALY - Newfoundland joined Confederation on March 31, 1949 after a series of referendums. Joey Smallwood, a broadcaster, pushed for it while Don Jamieson led the resistance but was soon converted and would go on to a long and rewarding career with the federal Liberals. Some claim that the convincing argument was the idea of "free money"; that is, the Baby Bonus and Old Age Pension benefits.

1949-1972: Joey Smallwood, Liberal. Joey served as the Premier and virtual dictator. He came up with a number of schemes to improve the Newfoundland economy, including the decision to move the people from the outports to the towns.

1972-79: Frank Moores, Progressive Conservative. The Liberals, defeated, went into a tailspin as Joey quit, came back, formed the Reform Liberals when he could not get his way, quit, etc. The Liberals went through a series of Leaders.

Frank Moores is a Mulroney crony, led the overthrow of Joe Clark in 1983 and thus delivered the crown to Mulroney. Today, Moores uses his ties with the Tories as a lobbyist in Ottawa.

1979-89: Brian Peckford, Progressive Conservative. Peckford replaced Moores who stepped down. In his ten years in power, Peckford defeated Liberals led by Don Jamieson, Len Stirling, Steve Neary, and Leo Barry. Obviously the Liberals were in complete disarray and in 1989 the "prize" fell to Clyde Wells.

1989: Tom Rideout, Progressive Conservative. Peckford stepped down and handed the Premiership to Rideout who promptly called an election and was defeated. It is amazing how many times this occurs. John Turner pulled off the same trick in Ottawa when after beating Jean Chretien for the Liberal leadership in June of 1984 and inheriting the Prime Ministership from Pierre Trudeau, he called an election almost immediately and was defeated by Brian Mulroney.

1989: Clyde Wells, Liberal. Wells rides to power and soon into the national consciousness with his stand against Meech Lake. Newfoundland under Peckford had already ratified the Meech Lake Agreement but Wells and his Liberal government undid this and so helped to deal a death blow to Meech.

Jack Harris won a byelection for the NDP in December/90 and in November of 1992 replaced Cle Newhook as Provincial leader. The NDP has not enjoyed much success on the "Rock", the few victories coming in by-elections. Mr. Harris is a good example of this, having never won in a general election but having won a 1987 federal by-election only to lose in the 1988 general election and then win a provincial byelection in 1990.

Leonard Sims took over the leadership of the Tories and became Opposition Leader in October of 1991.

FEDERALLY - usually splits its seven seats between the Liberals and Conservatives. John Crosbie - PC. Minister of Fisheries and Minister for the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency. A very colourful Newfoundlander, he was once a Cabinet Minister in Joey's Liberal government but feeling that Joey had served his usefulness, he challenged his leadership in 1969 and after losing, converted to the Tory belief! He served as Finance Minister to Moores for a number of years but feeling that Moores would be there forever and that St. John's was not big enough for the two of them, he switched to federal politics. Joe Clark chose him as his Finance Minister in 1979 where he promptly served up the 18 cent budget which led to the vote of non confidence in the Clark government and its subsequent loss of the February, 1980 election.

A rousing speaker, he challenged Mulroney for the leadership after Joe's overthrow in 1983 and appeared to have a shot until his unfortunate remark regarding language doomed him. He is now a senior Cabinet Minister and the chief federal Tory on the Rock.

Brian Tobin - Liberal. Elected in 84, he is now the Liberal Caucus Chairman.

The NDP have twice won federal byelection victories but have never been able to win a seat in a federal general election.

APPENDIX

COMPARISONCanadian Parliamentary SystemUS Presidential System

Fusion of Powers

-rather than a pure separation of powers, our Canadian parliamentary system demands a FUSION of the Executive and Legislative bodies, although the Judiciary remains separate.

-our Executive (PM + Cabinet) are expected to be members of the Legislative body.

-the Executive are of the same political persuasion as the governing party of the Legislature; in fact, the PM is the leader of that party

-the Cabinet must normally be chosen from within the ranks of the Legislature, which places a severe limitation on choice. However, CM's require no confirmation, but the entire Executive could be defeated and forced into an election should they lose the confidence of the Legislature.

-in the Parliamentary system, the Cabinet acts COLLECTIVELY as the Executive, although the PM is usually the clearly dominant figure. The PM is regarded as the first among equals in the Cabinet.
-the PM is the party leader

Strict Separation of Powers

-the Executive cannot be a member of the Legislative body, although he may recommend legislation and VETO legislation, these being some of the checks and balances which are used to preserve the separation of powers.

-there is no need for the Executive and the leading party in the Legislature to be of the same political persuasion.

-the President is not the leader of the party, instead, he is the party's Presidential candidate. Of course, a President can greatly influence the party due to his position

-Cabinet must be chosen from outside the Legislature and Judiciary. Although these choices must be confirmed by the Senate, a President is clearly given a far greater choice in Cabinet material than is a PM.

-in the Presidential system, the Pres is the SOLE Executive. The Cabinet are advisors, not equals.

-the Pres is not the party leader, rather the party standard bearer in one or more elections

-Cab meets regularly as a group to plot overall strategy.

-since CM's are elected in their own right, they conceivably could stand up to a PM and as a unit, they might force a PM to step aside

-if dismissed by the PM, a CM remains in the House of Commons, always posing a potential threat.

-the Executive is politically responsible to the Legislature but never directly to the People as a whole.

-the Executive can be removed politically by a vote of non-confidence.

the PM and Cabinet are not directly elected by the People. Is this less democratic?

the Executive may hold office for up to five years but the term may be much less. There are no fixed election dates.

-the Executive can dissolve the Legislature, of which they are a part, when they wish.

-there is a separate Head of State (Monarch) and Head of Government (PM)

-Senate is chosen by the Executive

-there is always an Opposition Leader training to take over

-Cab does not meet as a unit.

-since CM's are not elected, they have only their own personal ability to stand on when in a confrontation with the President.

-if removed by the Pres, a US CM returns to private life.

-Presidential CM's are generally seen to possess less power than their Parliamentary counterparts.

-the Executive is not politically responsible to the Legislature, but to the People.

-no such weapon exists; the Legislature must use its checks and balances to keep the Executive in line.

-the Pres is almost directly elected by the People and Primaries give the People a say in who stands as a Presidential candidate. Is this more democratic?

-the President is elected for a fixed four year term.

-the President can never dissolve the Legislature. Congress sits for fixed terms - Senators for six years House of Representatives for 2 years

-the President is both the Head of State and Government

-the Senate is elected

-there is no Opposition Party as we know it

Comparison of Strengths and Weaknesses

Canadian Parliamentary System

-the Executive must answer directly to the Peoples' representatives in the Legislature

-the Executive never answers directly to the voters on election day

-there is a Collective Executive. As a result, Cabinet Ministers wield great power

-limited choice in Cabinet Building
-a strong majority allows one to take tough measures. However, it is difficult to do this in a minority government.

-danger of instability if there is a succession of minority governments. Then again, this forces compromise which may result in excellent legislation or could bring in weak legislation.

-party members must "toe the party line" -this creates trained seals. Do we get the best out of our Legislators? At times we do allow "Free" or "Conscience" votes.

-relatively few people choose the party leader or the party candidates in ridings.

-short election periods - 60 days for a federal election. This saves dollars.

-with an Official Opposition and a Leader of that Opposition, we have a government in training.

US Presidential System

-while the Executive does not answer directly to the Legislature, it can exert control by means of Checks and Balances

-the President answers directly to the People on election day

-the President alone is the Executive. Cabinet Ministers only administer their own departments.

-tremendous choice in Cabinet Building
-fixed terms may allow for tough leadership but also allows for a "LAME DUCK" period.

-fixed term brings stability. If the Legislature is made up of a different party than the Executive, this encourages compromise.

-parties tend to be much more loosely structured. Thus individual legislators have room to develop and mature. Legislators tend to have greater personal power for they can not be automatically counted on as team players.

-primaries allow many people a voice in candidate selection.

-Presidential elections tend to run for at least one year. This makes them very expensive.

-there is no such provision

APPENDIX

CHECKS and BALANCES

To someone who endured the oppression of one unenlightened person making all the decisions for a nation, the concept of CHECKS and BALANCES must have been an incredibly attractive idea. In that old system, there were few, if any checks or balances on the power of the absolute monarch. Indeed, many believed that the monarch need answer only to God and that would be in the next world; so on this earth the divine monarch ruled supreme.

The leap to the concept of dividing the governing powers was an inspired one; now one group (LEGISLATIVE WING) would be responsible for creating the law, another (EXECUTIVE WING) would be responsible for the enforcement of that law, while yet a third body (JUDICIAL WING) would judge the justness of the law and its implementation against the constitutional protections offered by that nation.

To make such a system work, each of the three areas of government must be made independent of each other, while at the same time, they must each exercise enough control over each other so that neither one could gain absolute power. Each must be allowed and encouraged to balance out the other; each must be allowed to check the power of the other; and all this must be achieved without tying the country up in impossible knots. Such a delicate separation and balance of powers is very difficult to achieve but the United States stands as an example of such an achievement.

LEGISLATIVE BRANCH:

- the powers of the others is checked by the fact that the others can not be members of this body. They can only visit by invitation.
- its power to make laws is balanced and checked by the fact that the Executive branch can veto any of its laws but in turn; the Legislative branch can override this veto by a 2/3 vote in each House. While such a vote is not easily achieved, it is not impossible to win such a vote. However, should the Legislative branch gain such a vote, the Executive branch can then drag its feet on implementing the law and so defeat its effectiveness for a time.
- its power is further checked by the fact that the Judicial branch can throw out any legislative law which it finds in opposition to constitutional law.
- this branch has the considerable power to ratify the choices of the Executive branch for either the Executive or Judicial branch. Thus Cabinet and Supreme Court appointments are made by the Executive branch but must be passed by the Legislative branch.

EXECUTIVE BRANCH:

- the Chief Executive holds office for a fixed period of time, regardless of whether or not a legislative majority approves of the political actions of the Chief Executive. There is no such thing as a vote of confidence!
- its power has been checked recently with the passing of an amendment to the Constitution which states that a person can only be President for two terms and in exceptional circumstances, no more than ten years.

- its power is further checked by the fact that the Legislative Branch can impeach (remove from power by legal means) the Executive for gross misconduct.
- its power is checked by the fact that the Legislative branch controls the financial purse strings of the Executive and could cut those strings in extreme circumstances.
- its decisions on implementing laws can be overthrown by the Judicial wing if they can be shown to be contradictory to constitutional law.

JUDICIAL BRANCH:

- its membership is determined by the Executive branch subject to the ratification of the Legislative branch. However, once appointed, they hold office during good behavior and cannot have their pay slashed and so are encouraged to be completely independent in their sphere.
- this branch can overturn the laws of the Legislative branch and the implementation of those laws by the Executive.

To make the system work, all three branches must work together, respecting the powers and privileges of the others, each willing to compromise to advance the cause of the nation. No one group is allowed to dominate; all must work together and so the cause of the country is advanced. When it works, this is a beautiful system!

The Growth of the Canadian Parliament to Independence

Although the Canadian Parliament is modelled after the British Parliament, it had to struggle against the British Parliament to gain complete independence. Following is a chronology of major events in the struggle for independence from Britain:

- 1837 - Rebellions break out in Canada over Responsible Government.
- 1848 - Britain's Parliament grants responsible government to the Canadian colonies over certain internal affairs.
- 1867 - Although we became a "united" nation, we were still granted independence over internal affairs with Britain watching over external affairs. Successive Prime Ministers would try to wrest ever more control from London.
- 1871 - Britain, seeking closer ties with the United States, overlooks Canadian interests at the Washington Conference and supports the U.S. position. Prime Minister Macdonald realizes that Canada must gain greater control over foreign affairs.
- 1897 - Exploiting our love of Queen Victoria at her Diamond Jubilee, fearing a united and growing Germany, and desiring to restore the old Empire, Britain seeks to draw Canada back into closer colonial ties but is frustrated by Prime Minister Laurier.
- 1899 - Britain tries to use the Boer War to draw Canada closer to Britain, but Laurier walks the middle line between French and English Canadians by sending a token force.
- 1903 - In the Alaskan Boundary dispute, Canada again realizes that we cannot depend on Britain to protect our interests against those of the United States at the expense of Britain's own interests.
- 1909 - Canada sets up a Department of External Affairs to handle our own interests.
- 1914 - Britain declares war for Canada, but during the war Canadian troops fight as a unit and gain great glory for Canada. By 1917 Prime Minister Borden demands independence for Canada.

- 1919 - After some difficulty from Britain and the United States, Canada is allowed to sign the Treaty of Versailles for herself. Canada also wins membership in the League of Nations.
- 1923 - Canada signs its first treaty, the Halibut Treaty.
- 1926 - In the King-Byng affair, Canada shows determination to have the Prime Minister rule Canada and the Governor-General be a figurehead.
- 1926 - Britain finally acts on the independence issue in the Balfour Declaration.
- 1931 - Fourteen years after a British promise of independence, Canada gains it with the Statute of Westminster. Canada could have received control over our constitution, but we could not decide how to do it so the constitution remained under British parliamentary control.
- 1939 - Canada declares war by itself.
- 1949 - The Canadian Supreme Court becomes the final court of appeal: no longer is the British Privy Council to be used by Canada.
- 1952 - The first Canadian Governor-General, Vincent Massey, is named.
- 1965 - Canada gets a new flag, the Maple Leaf, instead of the British Union Jack.
- 1982 - With the Canada Act, Canada gains complete control over its constitutional affairs.

Federal-Provincial Relations

The principle of equalization has become an important concept in Canadian federalism. Premier Hatfield of New Brunswick, at the First Minister's Conference on the Constitution in 1979, urged that the principle of equalization be enshrined in the Canadian constitution.

"I think it is important to understand that I lead a have-not province. What that means is that I do not have a capacity to raise within the province the kind of revenues that are needed to provide a standard of services that are equal to those of Alberta, for example. That is the only thing I don't have as leader of the government of New Brunswick. New Brunswick is not poor in hospitality, it is not poor in good food, it is not poor in a number of other things. It is a very wealthy province and...happy to be within Canada, especially because of this principle that evolved in our country which I think is an example to the whole world - that is, that the assets of the country shall accrue to those who live in the country regardless of where they live....We (in New Brunswick) have got a lot of things. We have got tradition, we have got history, we have got two great cultures; we are very, very proud people, make no mistake about it. But we cannot provide to the people...the standards of service that all Canadians believe we should have....That is the great principle of equalization. It is not a matter of your chequebook being out on the table, it is not a matter of giving money....You give us tax points, you give us one tax point, it is worth, we will say, \$5 million. That same tax point in Alberta is worth \$100 million; in Ontario, because they have more people, it is worth a lot of money, but in New Brunswick it is not worth as much. We devised a way, a brilliant way, a unique way, an example to the whole world of getting around this problem, and it seems to me it is so great it should be enshrined not only in the constitution but in the front of the constitution as being one of the great things we need in this country. It is for that reason that I don't care how you phrase it as long as that principle is enshrined. I don't want dollar bills put in the constitution; I just want the principle, a statement that we in this country have done something really great."

Source: Richard Hatfield, Premier of New Brunswick, from a speech made at the First Minister's Conference on the Constitution, Ottawa, February 6, 1979.

1. What is the principle of equalization and how does it work?
2. What is the origin of the equalization principle?
3. What provinces have been the so-called *have-not* provinces?
Is this changing?
4. The principle of equalization is part of the Constitution Act, 1982, Section 36 (1) and (2). Do you agree with Hatfield that a constitutional guarantee is necessary? Why or why not?

THE CANADIAN CONSTITUTION

Source: Serge Joyal, former Liberal Cabinet Minister from Quebec in the government of Pierre Trudeau.

"In the last 114 years (now 125 years), we have had a lot of struggles among French-Canadians living outside Quebec to get the same treatment that the Anglo-Canadians and the Anglo-Quebecers receive in Quebec. There were two kinds of treatment. If you were an English-speaking Canadian living in Quebec, you would have access to all kinds of school services, from the primary school to the university level....But we cannot say the same of other universities outside Quebec, and it means that the other provinces will have to make a serious effort. I am happy at this point to recognize that New Brunswick has really set the grounds for major progress in the future, because New Brunswick is essentially committed to the same kind of equality that the Canadian government is committed to for the future, in the new constitution. Ontario, as you know, is a province with good intentions, but sometimes it remains at the level of intentions. They are still afraid of the backlash in Ontario. We have to make sure that Ontario recognizes the same equality of French and English that is recognized by the parliament of Canada and by Quebec, New Brunswick, and Manitoba."

1. Review the status of the French-speaking population of Manitoba, New Brunswick, and Quebec.
2. What does Serge Joyal mean when he says: "They are still afraid of the backlash in Ontario"? What choice would you make for Ontario?
3. What particular difficulties are being faced by the English-speaking population in Quebec today?
4. What do you think would be the fate of French culture across Canada should the province of Quebec achieve independence?

QUEBEC: WHY IS IT DIFFERENT? pp. 157 - 181

1. (a) What reasons would people in Quebec have for being uneasy in the Canadian federal system?

(b) What is meant by the expression "hewers of wood and drawers of water"?

2. (a) What events and experiences caused Quebecois to look inward to "fortress Quebec"?

(b) How did Quebec compare with the rest of Canada in personal incomes, educational level and trade unions?

(c) In what areas was the Roman Catholic Church still powerful in the 1950s?

(d) What word could describe political life in Quebec in the 1950s?

3. From what areas did the reform movement arise in the 1950s?

4. (a) What changes took place during the Quiet Revolution?

(b) What did the term "masters in our own house" mean?

5. When was the Parti Quebecois formed, who was the leader, and what was its purpose?

6. How did Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau deal with the French-English situation in Canada?

7. (a) What were the provisions of Bill 101?

(b) What ruling did the Supreme Court of Quebec make on Bill 101?

(c) How did the Supreme Court of Canada rule about Bill 101?

(d) How could the Government of Quebec "override" the Court rulings?

8. (a) What did the Parti Quebecois mean by the term "sovereignty-association"?

(b) What was the result of the 1980 referendum in Quebec?

9. Why did the Quebec government refuse to sign the 1982 Constitution Act?

10. What were the five provisions of the Meech Lake Accord of 1987?

11. (a) How was the Meech Lake Accord defeated?

(b) Why was the Meech Lake Accord defeated?

THE CANADIAN CONSTITUTION

Source: Serge Joyal, former Liberal Cabinet Minister in the government of Pierre Trudeau and instrumental in the conferences leading up to the repatriation of the Constitution and the Canada Act, 1982.

"There is a big difference between Quebec demands and demands originating from other provinces. In Quebec there is what we would call a national feeling, the feeling that we form a distinct society. We speak French, we have a different history. We have our own institutions - and this has always been the case. In the other provinces what you have is what I call regional feeling rather than national feeling. They don't form a distinct society the way we do in Quebec, which means that the nature of the demands that Quebec has expressed over the past twenty years is quite different from the demands that have been expressed by, for instance, Alberta, Ontario, or Nova Scotia. These demands do not relate to the distinctiveness of a society that speaks another language or has another culture. The federal government must take into account the demands coming from the other provinces, but those demands are different from the demands that we have in Quebec, and there is no place in Canada where there exists a distinct society like the one we have in Quebec....There is really a nation within a nation when you think of Quebec and it is bound to bring about changes in the political structure of Canada."

1. What steps would a Parti Quebecois government in Quebec take to foster the growth of a "nation within a nation"?
2. Describe some of the efforts of the federal government and the national political parties to take into account the special situation in the province in Quebec.
3. What constitutional provisions would you like to see made with reference to Quebec?

Choosing a Cabinet: a Simulation Exercise

One of the best ways to understand the problems and possibilities associated with choosing a cabinet is to participate in a *fictional* re-enactment of the process. The exercise that follows allows you to do this by recreating the cabinet-making challenge faced by a prime minister.

In this simulation, you will have to consider an additional factor in cabinet selection. The prime minister, in choosing the cabinet, has to decide whether to appoint any of the people who were rivals or influential supporters at the most recent leadership convention. The prime minister must consider such obligations, as well as assess the importance of the other factors already identified in this chapter.

Background

Assume that the party you lead has just won a majority of seats in the House of Commons. You are the new prime minister. Your first task is to select a cabinet. You campaigned, and have been elected, on a platform of bringing efficiency to government, specifically by reducing the number of cabinet posts to ten. Thus, you may appoint ten, and only ten, ministers. The names of the ten departments that you have proposed, and which the voting public has supported, are as follow:

(1) agriculture, (2) defence, (3) energy and resources, (4) finance, (5) external (foreign) affairs, (6) health and welfare, (7) industry, trade, and commerce, (8) justice, (9) labour, (10) transportation and communication.

Assume for the purposes of this exercise that Canada is made up of only six provinces. Newfoundland, Ontario, and Quebec remain unchanged. The three Maritime provinces have been combined to form the province of Atlantis. The four Western provinces have become the province of Occidentalialia. The Northern territories are now the province of Borealis. The following chart gives the approximate population of each province, the number of seats each province has in the House of Commons, and the number of seats your party won in the recent election.

Other than the changed names, the provinces correspond to the present-day regions of Canada in

| Province | Population | Number of seats in House of Commons | Number of seats won by your party |
|-----------------|------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Newfoundland | 600 000 | 7 | 4 |
| Atlantis | 1 700 000 | 25 | 19 |
| Quebec | 6 500 000 | 75 | 60 |
| Ontario | 8 800 000 | 95 | 24 |
| Occidentalialia | 7 200 000 | 77 | 46 |
| Borealis | 100 000 | 3 | 2 |
| Total | 24 900 000 | 282 | 155 |

terms of location, population, language, and culture.

As prime minister, you are well aware of the traditional requirements for choosing people to serve as ministers. Your chief desire is to form a government that will maintain sufficient popularity, after four or five years in office, to win the next election. You are an Occidentalialian, and served as premier of your province for five years before running for the leadership of the national party. Now, after three years as leader of the opposition, you have become the prime minister.

There are many individuals you could consider for the ten cabinet positions, but now you have reduced the list to thirty serious contenders. What follows is a brief sketch of each of these people. These have been compiled for you by one of your executive assistants, who used information received from your political contacts across the country.

The Contenders

1. Joseph Belzile: Quebec; 54; speaks French only; French-Canadian origin; Roman Catholic; farmer; former president of Quebec Farmers' Association; member of Quebec legislature for nine years; minister of agriculture in Quebec for two years; resigned as Quebec MNA to run for Parliament; easily elected; supported Geoffrion for party leader three years ago at convention that elected you.

2. **Antonio Bianchino:** Ontario; 57; speaks English and Italian; Italian origin; Roman Catholic; owner of large construction company; former president of Canadian Association of Ethnic Organizations; long-time party member and organizer; MP for four years; campaigned in several urban ridings besides his own; supported Fleming for party leader.
3. **Allister Campbell:** Atlantis; 52; speaks English only; Scottish-English origin; United; lawyer; MP for eighteen years; was minister of fisheries in the previous government formed by your party; ran against you for party leader—finished fourth; was your party's critic of the government's energy and resources policies in the last Parliament.
4. **Catharine Desjardins:** Quebec; 44; speaks French only; French-Canadian; Roman Catholic; popular Montreal radio hot-line hostess; joined party six months ago; defeated a cabinet minister in a stunning upset to gain a seat in Parliament; opposed your selection as party leader on her radio program three years ago.
5. **Orville Brown:** Ontario; 51; speaks English only; English-Irish origin; Presbyterian; dairy farmer; former warden of Middlesex County; former president of Ontario Federation of Agriculture; has been MP for eight years; popular speaker in rural areas of his province; supported Fleming for party leader; was your party's agriculture critic in the last Parliament.
6. **Norman Fisher:** Borealis; 36; speaks English and Algonquin; Indian on his mother's side and English on his father's; Anglican; civil rights lawyer; noted for his support of environmental protection causes; served four years on territorial council; joined party six months ago, first elected as MP this year.
7. **Winfield Fleming:** Ontario; 54; speaks English only; Scottish-Irish origin; United; former high school teacher; elected to Ontario legislature at age 31; became cabinet minister four years later; has held posts of transportation, tourism, and education; became premier nine years ago and still holds that position; not an MP at present time—would require some present MP to resign and offer him a seat through by-election; willing to join cabinet only if he can be minister of external affairs, or energy and resources; ran against you in the leadership race—finished a close second.
8. **Albert Gagnon:** Quebec; 62; speaks French and English; French-Canadian origin; Roman Catholic; lawyer; MP for twenty-three years; was member of your party's last federal cabinet (minister of public works); very popular in Quebec wing of the party; supported Geoffrion for party leader; was your party's labour critic in last Parliament.
9. **André Geoffrion:** Quebec; 55; speaks French and English; French-Canadian origin; Roman Catholic; lawyer; MP for same Quebec City riding for twenty-two years; served in previous cabinets formed by your party as solicitor-general, and then as minister of justice; ran against you for leader—finished third; was external affairs critic in last Parliament.
10. **Jacob Goldsmith:** Quebec; 53; speaks English, French, and Yiddish; Jewish origin and religion; prominent criminal lawyer; MP for eleven years; was the justice critic from your party in last Parliament; ran for party leadership against you—came sixth.
11. **Ian Johnston:** Ontario; 56; speaks English and French; Scottish origin; Presbyterian; distinguished career in federal public service—was deputy minister of external affairs for last four years; resigned from civil service at your request to run for the party in this election; was elected in one of the few "safe" Ontario ridings.
12. **Tanya Jones:** Occidentalia; 46; speaks English only; English-Irish origin; Pentecostal; social worker; well-known authority on Canada's welfare system and author of book: *Canada's Poor People*; joined party just before this election was called; gained a narrow victory at the polls.
13. **Stanley Knight:** Atlantis; 49; speaks English only; English origin (United Empire Loyalist); Baptist; real-estate broker; MP for eleven years; was chief opposition critic in House of Commons on defence policy; won re-election in Halifax with huge majority; supported Campbell for party leader.
14. **Pierre Laforge:** Quebec; 47; speaks French only; French-Canadian origin; Roman Catholic; labour union organizer; one-time separatist who has converted to a pro-federalist position; excellent speaker, who brought many Quebec working-class votes to the party in the last election; joined party two years ago; first elected as MP in a by-election a year and a half ago—easily re-elected.

15. **Jean-Louis Leblanc:** Atlantis; 55; speaks French and English; French-Acadian origin; Roman Catholic; lawyer; former mayor of Edmundston; former member of the provincial legislature; MP for four years; supported Campbell for party leader.
16. **George MacDonald:** Occidentalia; 51; speaks English only; Scottish origin; United; wheat farmer; former director of Western Farmer's Union; provincial minister of agriculture for six years; resigned this post to run in the most recent federal election; was successfully elected; supported you for party leader.
17. **Louis Mackenzie:** Quebec; 39; speaks French and English; Scottish-French origin; Roman Catholic; formerly professor of law at L'Université de Laval; prominent anti-separatist; eloquent speaker in English and French; author of one book and several magazine articles; joined party just before the election; was easily elected in a "safe" seat.
18. **Herb Makasawi:** Occidentalia; 49; speaks English and Japanese; Japanese origin; Anglican; dentist; former Vancouver alderman; MP for eight years; helped organize your leadership campaign three years ago.
19. **Eldon O'Day:** Newfoundland; 61; speaks English only; Irish origin; Roman Catholic; formerly a union organizer for miners; MP for eight years; helped organize your leadership campaign three years ago.
20. **Jacques Meloche:** Ontario; 49; speaks French and English; French-Canadian origin; Roman Catholic; medical doctor; former Sudbury alderman; MP for eleven years; helped organize your leadership campaign in Ontario; chief critic of previous government's health and welfare program in last Parliament.
21. **John Mills:** Newfoundland; 44; speaks English only; English origin; Anglican; family owns large fish-processing plant; former mayor of St. John's; member of provincial legislature for six years; provincial cabinet minister (municipal affairs) for four years; first elected as MP this year; supported Campbell for party leader.
22. **Edward O'Malley:** Quebec; 47; speaks English and French; Irish origin; Roman Catholic; radio news broadcaster; popular city alderman for two years; ran for Parliament four years ago, and easily elected; re-elected this time with increased majority; very effective in House of Commons as critic of previous government; supported you for leader.
23. **Steven Rodchenko:** Occidentalia; 48; speaks English only; Ukrainian-Polish origin; Ukrainian Catholic; hardware dealer; MP for eight years; organized your leadership campaign in the West; party's critic of the industry, trade and commerce department in the last Parliament.
24. **William Schmidt:** Ontario; 63; speaks English only; German origin; Lutheran; chartered accountant; MP for eighteen years; member of a previous cabinet (manpower and immigration); ran against you for leader—came fifth on the first ballot, then threw all his support to you, helping you to win; has been critic of minister of finance in the previous Parliament.
25. **Roderick Smith:** Quebec; 54; speaks English only; English-Irish origin; Anglican; family owns major share of several large Canadian companies; corporation lawyer, and director of two companies; good business connections; member of the party for thirty years—is an efficient party organizer; this election was his first time at running for MP—won by a narrow margin; stayed neutral during the leadership campaign.
26. **Joan Stewart:** Ontario; 44; speaks English only; Scottish and United Empire Loyalist origin; United; successful businesswoman; ex-mayor of Kingston; former president of Ontario branch of the party; MP for three years—won first in a by-election, then was re-elected this time; supported Fleming for party leader.
27. **Arthur Wagner:** Occidentalia; 59; speaks English and German; German origin; Roman Catholic; lawyer; long-time director of Royal Canadian Legion; formerly mayor of Winnipeg for five years; MP for eleven years; your party's critic on transportation and communication matters in previous Parliament; supported you for party leadership.

28. **Benjamin Weinberg:** Ontario; 46; speaks English and French; Jewish origin and religion; professor of political studies at University of Toronto; prominent member of the Committee for an Independent Canada; first elected to House of Commons four years ago; was extremely critical of previous government's energy policies; excellent debater; supported you for leader.
29. **Harvey Whitefish:** Occidentalism; 44; speaks English and Cree; native Canadian Indian; Anglican; professor of sociology at University of Saskatchewan; ex-president of Native Rights Association; joined party just before this election; won a narrow victory in first try.
30. **Dennis Wilson:** Occidentalism; 55; speaks English only; English origin; Anglican; resigned as president of a large west-coast forest products company just before the election; past president of Canadian Chamber of Commerce; wealthy supporter of the party for many years; gained easy victory in this, his first try at political office; supported you for leader.

Step-by-step Instructions

You have to choose ten people from this list to be your ministers. But which ten? Remember, your main aim is to form a government so popular and effective that your party will be re-elected at the next election, four or five years from now. Here is a step-by-step method to follow in choosing your cabinet. Do not be intimidated by the list of thirty contenders—the process is simple if you proceed one step at a time.

1. Leaving a space between each heading, list the ten cabinet positions on a sheet of paper.
2. Read the backgrounds of each of the thirty contenders, and eliminate those few that you feel are simply unqualified to be in the cabinet. Now concentrate on the remaining individuals, whose names you list on a second sheet of paper.
3. On a third sheet, make a list of all the factors you consider important in building an effective cabinet

(for example: provincial origin, religion, ability, etc.). Leave several lines between each factor.

4. For each factor, group the contenders by category (example: for provincial origin, make six headings, one for each province, and list the people under their proper heading).
5. Taking the second sheet of paper, which lists the serious contenders, write beside each name the cabinet position, or positions, that you feel he/she is most qualified to fill.
6. Taking the list of cabinet positions (first sheet) write beside each title the names of the people you feel are qualified for the position.
7. Select one person for each of the ten positions and write the names down. You now have a rough outline of your cabinet. Next, you must check to see if there are any factors you have overlooked (see step #4), and if any people have been left out who simply *must* be included. Shift your choices around where necessary, and substitute other names where required.
8. When you have the names of the ten people who are to be in the cabinet, write out your selections with the name of the department they are to head beside each one. Place your own name at the top beside the title "Prime Minister."

Questions to Consider

1. Assume you are now writing your memoirs:
 - a) List the problems you faced in forming your first cabinet.
 - b) Write a short description of your experience, modelled on the Diefenbaker and Pearson readings.
2. To what extent is it possible to choose a cabinet that is both representative of the people, and composed of the most capable individuals in the country?
3. If one of these two factors, representativeness or talent, must be sacrificed, to which would you give priority? Why?

BACKGROUND DOCUMENTATION



WHAT'S AVAILABLE

The following material may be obtained, subject to the conditions described below, by completing this order form and sending it to: ELECTIONS CANADA, 1595 Telesat Court, OTTAWA, CANADA K1A 0M6, or by calling from anywhere in Canada 1-800-267-VOTE (8683) (toll-free) or (613) 993-2975. All publications are bilingual except where indicated as E (English) or F (French).

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| () | Canada's Electoral System |
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| () | Student Voter's Guide |
| () | Your Returning Officer |
| () | Voting in Canada (multilingual) |
| () | Election Expenses and You |
| () | Important Considerations for Prospective Candidates |
| () | Manual of Information for Candidates (1988) (temporarily out of stock) |
| () | Returning Officer's Calendar (chart) |
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| () | Synopsis of duties (Elections Canada) CIRCLE E or F |
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| () | List of MPs by name and affiliation (alphabetical) |
| () | List of Cabinet Ministers CIRCLE E or F |
| () | List of electoral district names, by province and territory |
| () | List of political parties, with chief officers and addresses |



MAPS

ELECTORAL DISTRICT BOUNDARIES

ONE (1) MAP FROM EACH OF THE FOLLOWING CATEGORIES CAN BE PROVIDED FREE OF CHARGE:

- () Canada (CIRCLE E or F); Province or Territory: SPECIFY _____
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Additional copies may be ordered, at \$4.00 each from Elections Canada.

Colour-coded maps showing election results by political party may be ordered, for a fee, from Canada Map Office, 615 Booth Street, OTTAWA, Ontario K1A 0E9, tel.: (613)952-7000.

Polling Division Maps: \$2.50/Sheet + shipping costs. Order by telephone or in writing. Payment accepted by cheque, money order, MasterCard or VISA.

MICROFILMS & COMPUTER TAPES

Certain election reports and documents are on microfilm and/or computer tape at the National Archives. Included are: poll-by-poll election results, voters' lists, polling division descriptions and election expenses returns. Microfilms may be borrowed on inter-library loan or purchased, along with computer tapes. Further information may be obtained from: Government Archives Division, National Archives, 395 Wellington Street, OTTAWA, Ontario K1A 0N3, tel. (613) 996-8507.

TRANSPPOSITION OF VOTES

The results of the 1984 general election, by riding and by political party, have been transposed into the new (1987) electoral district boundaries, making it possible to see which party would have won in each riding had the election been conducted on the basis of the new boundaries. Available in hard copy from Elections Canada.

ELECTION SIMULATION KITS

Complete simulated election packages for classroom use are available free of charge:

1. Canada at the Polls (secondary schools)
2. My Favourite Playmate (junior elementary)

Contact the Enquiries Centre, Elections Canada.

CANADA AT THE POLLS

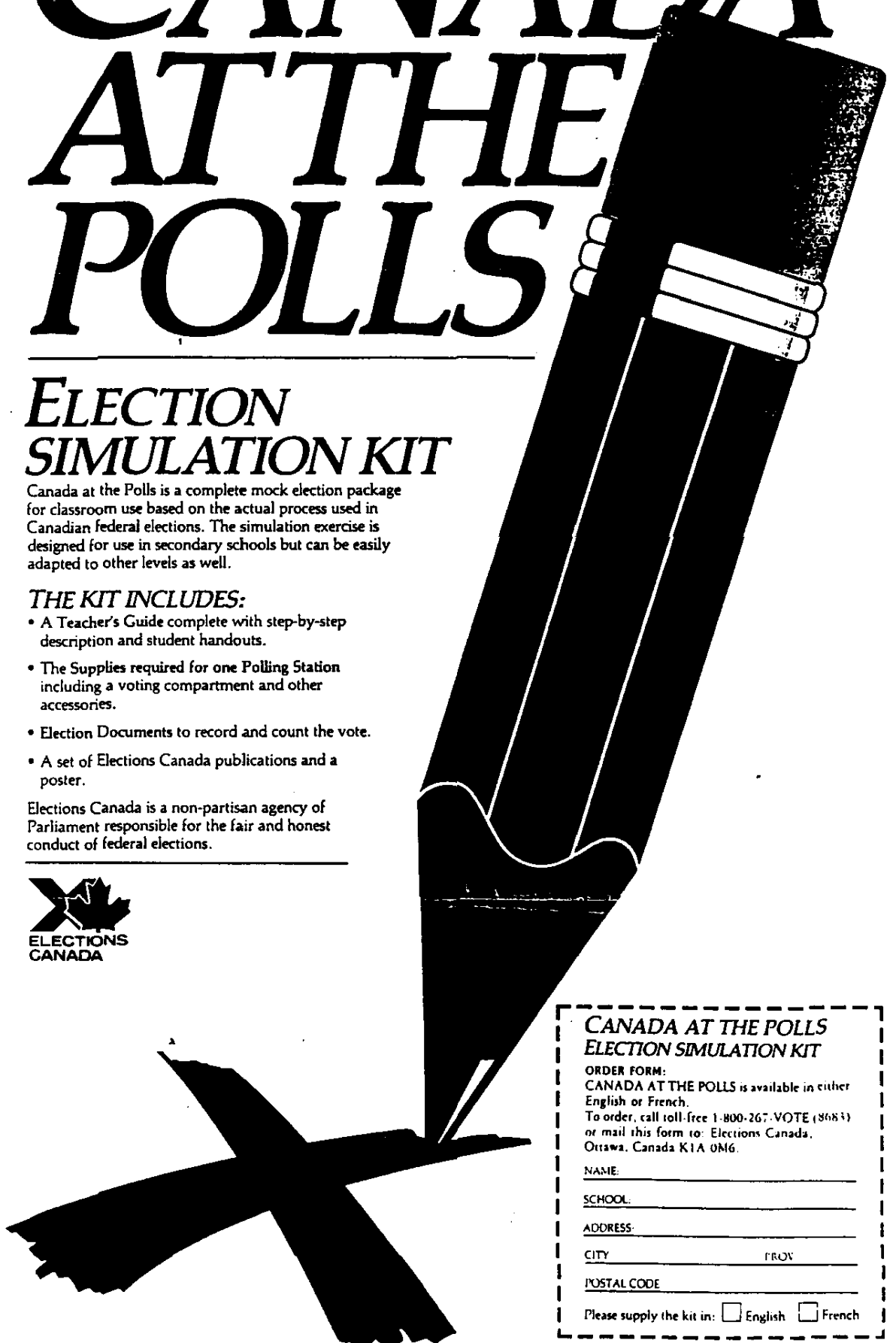
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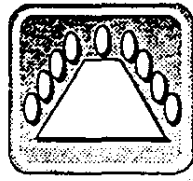
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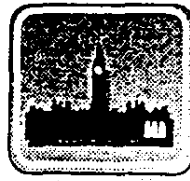
How a Government bill becomes



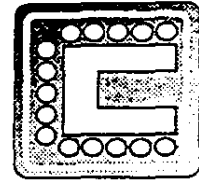
Federal
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Cabinet



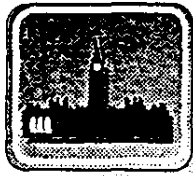
Introduction
First reading
Second reading



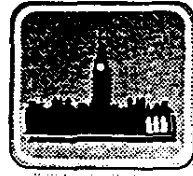
Committee stage



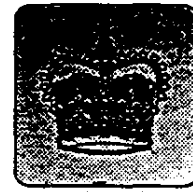
a law



Report stage
Third reading



Senate



Royal Assent

How We Make Our Laws

Almost every corner of our life is touched by laws enacted by the Parliament of Canada. The programs we watch on TV, the airline trips we take, a visit to our doctor and the letters we love to receive -- all are governed in some way by federal laws.

The process of making these laws is often long and complicated, involving Members of the House of Commons, Senators and the Governor General. The process usually requires a lot of research, writing, study and debate.

While we may not always agree with the outcome of the legislative process, it is designed to ensure that a proposed law is looked at from all angles and that there is lots of opportunity for lawmakers and citizens alike to contribute and make their views known.

Where do ideas for laws come from?

Many ideas for new laws come from Members of the House of Commons and Senators, but they are by no means the only source. Ideas also come from concerned citizens; special interest groups; consultations, special studies or royal commission reports; election promises; officials of federal government departments; and House and Senate committees.

Who can propose a new law?

Once an idea has taken shape and has met certain conditions, it can be presented to the House of Commons as a proposal for a new law. A proposal for a new law is called a bill. Members of the Cabinet introduce government bills. Those Members who are not in the Cabinet may introduce private Members' bills. Senators may also introduce bills in the Senate.

Bills can be of a public or private nature. Government bills are usually public bills and concern policy matters like those mentioned above -- transport, health care and postal delivery.

Private bills concern the affairs of a private person or corporation. In general, they are bills to incorporate private companies or religious and charitable organizations, or to change existing acts of incorporation.

How does a bill become a law?

After a bill is introduced in the House by a member of the Cabinet or by a private Member, it passes through a series of stages. Each of these stages is like a test, providing an opportunity for all aspects of the bill to be examined by Members of the House of Commons and Senators. Both the House of Commons and the Senate must pass a bill before it can be approved by the Governor General and become law.

Cabinet approval

A government bill is usually studied and debated extensively in Cabinet before being approved for introduction in the House of

The First Test: The House of Commons

Introducing a bill

In the House of Commons, the Minister asks the Members for permission to introduce the bill. Permission is given without debate and the Minister reads the title of the bill.

First reading

The Speaker then proposes to the House that the bill be read a first time and printed. The House agrees without debate. The bill is then numbered, printed and distributed so that Members and the public can read it.

Second reading

This is the most important stage in the passage of a bill. In the House of Commons, Members listen to a speech by the Minister about why the bill is necessary and what it sets out to do. Members then debate the principle of the bill and vote to accept or reject it. The clauses or specific provisions of the bill are not discussed in detail at this stage.

Committee stage

After second reading, the bill is referred to a committee for close examination of each of its clauses or specific provisions. (A committee is a small group of Members from the government and opposition parties.)

The committee meets outside the chamber of the House of Commons in the more informal atmosphere of a meeting room in one of the Parliament buildings. The

Minister sponsoring the bill, departmental officials and technical experts may appear before the committee to answer questions.

Based on their study, committee members may propose, debate and vote on changes to the bill. These changes are called amendments.

Report stage

At this stage, the committee reports the bill back to the House along with any amendments it may have made to it. Now all Members have the opportunity to discuss the details of the bill and suggest amendments to it. Members also consider amendments passed by the committee. The House debates the amendments and votes to accept or reject them.

Next the bill itself (including any amendments passed by the House), is voted on by the House. If it passes, the bill can go to third reading.

If no amendments were passed during the committee stage or if no new amendments are proposed at report stage, report stage takes less time, and the bill can go to third reading the same day.

Third reading

This is the last chance Members have to debate the bill. No further changes can be made to the text of the bill. Members vote to accept or reject the bill as is. If the bill is passed by the House of Commons, it moves to the Senate.

The Second Test: The Senate

The Senate is often called the chamber of sober second thought. Senators consider legislation passed by the House of Commons to ensure that it is in the best form to serve the country. As in the House of Commons, Senators vote on the bill at each of the three readings. Following second reading, bills may be referred to one of the Senate committees for detailed study.

If the Senate amends the bill, it informs the House of Commons in writing. Members of the House discuss the Senate amendments and then vote to accept or reject them. If the House rejects the amendments, the Senate may still insist on its amendments before it will pass the bill. If the House and the Senate cannot agree on amendments — although this rarely happens — the House requests a meeting of representatives of the two chambers so that a solution can be reached.

Once the bill has been passed by the Senate in the same form as it was passed by the House of Commons, it moves to the final step in the legislative process, approval by the Governor General.

The Final Test: The Governor General

The Governor General, who represents the Queen, approves the bill in a ceremony called Royal Assent. This ceremony, one of the oldest parliamentary traditions,

involves the three components of Parliament: the Commons, the Senate, and the Crown. The Governor General may be represented by a deputy such as the Chief Justice or another judge of the Supreme Court of Canada.

The Speaker and Members of the House of Commons are summoned to the Senate Chamber. After the Senate Clerk reads the title of the bill, the Governor General nods, giving Royal Assent to the bill and making it law.

Sometimes the law comes into force on the day of Assent or on a date stated in the bill. Or the law may come into force on a date that is determined later. Parts of the bill may come into force at different times.

APPENDIX

CLASSICAL LIBERALISM

FOUNDERS: John Locke, Adam Smith, Thomas Malthus, David Ricardo, Ricard Cobden

ORIGINS: arose as a reaction to absolute monarchy and aristocratic privilege. These feelings arose out of the Commercial Revolution, the Renaissance and the Reformation.

TIME PERIOD: pre Industrial Revolution. In Britain, around 1688 and the Glorious Revolution; in USA around 1776 and the American Revolution and in France around 1789 and the French Revolution.

BASIC PREMISE OR IDEAS:

- man is basically good with an innate moral knowledge of good and evil
- man is rational and can and will think for himself and make the right decisions most of the time.
- since he is both of the above, man should be granted almost complete freedom to self maximize for in this way, society will benefit.
- man will try to develop himself to the fullest. Do you agree?
- the individual is of great importance.
- there is a social contract between the governed and the governing and both must live up to its terms.

APPEAL: to the middle class, for it allowed and justifies them to develop at the expense of the previous establishment - replace aristocratic privilege with bourgeois privilege. Yet, this same group of liberals had a rather low opinion of the "common man" whom they perceived as docile and lethargic.

TYPE OF GOVERNMENT: They sought to free man from the institutional framework which held him back, thus they sought to limit the almost unrestrained power of kings by the use of partial or complete separation of powers; thus advocating constitutional monarchy or a republic where a middle class parliament would share power with the head of government. This parliament would be composed of those who had proved themselves already by displaying their superior talents; they did not call for or desire universal suffrage where everyman could vote and participate for they feared the mob and irrational rule. They believed in a "pecking order".

As to how much government was desirable - they believed in a limited but fairly strong government which could and would provide order and security so that individuals could fully enjoy their rights. However, this government should limit its intervention in our lives as much as possible. They favoured "LAISSEZ-FAIRE" and supported the notion that "he governs best who governs least". They believed that people should stand on their own two feet and did not favour the intervention of the government to prop up people.

BASIC RIGHTS: Man was born with certain inalienable rights including the right to life, liberty, pursuit of happiness, religion, free association, free speech and press. Individuals should have all the freedoms necessary to self-maximize but this freedom would extend to the privilege of revolution only in extraordinary circumstances when the Social Contract had been broken.

However, the granting of these rights did not and was not intended to guarantee EQUALITY. Since talents were unequally distributed, so must be the rewards. Equal opportunity, not equality.

ECONOMICS: Private ownership was a sacred trust. They had a tremendous faith in the competitive market system, the laws of supply and demand would bring the greatest benefit. Thus they followed Laissez-Faire and did not foresee the possibilities of monopolies and trusts. The fewer the laws over business the better; keep taxation low and let everyone look after themselves. They frowned on welfare with the exception of basic education. As well, they would have been horrified by the concept of a minimum wage or of unions which allowed individuals to push the interests of workers over owners.

Internationally, they wanted free trade for it would bring the best for all and end imperialism as a cause for war.

RELIGION: they favoured religious freedom, but would not be happy with athiests. They were opposed to an establishment church but favoured church.

IDEOLOGY

The Various Shades of Political Opinion

by MAURICE WALSH

THROUGHOUT history two principles have marked all government. These are known as Democracy and Absolutism. Down through the centuries, political thought has swung from one to the other and back again.

Absolutism is the principle of government by a single individual or group that governs without consulting the ordinary citizens. The governors come to power by inheritance or by military force. The governors are not responsible to the citizens.

Democracy is the principle of government by a group of people who are chosen by a free vote of the citizens. In this case, the governors are responsible to the citizens.

In theory, there is no point at which one can say democracy ends abruptly and absolutism begins. They form a complete series of positions which shade into one another.

Yet, in actual practice, there are abrupt changes as a result of which one form of government disappears, to be replaced by another. Thus, democracies are replaced almost overnight by totalitarian governments, or an absolute ruler may lose power and his government may be replaced by a democracy.

How do these changes come about? And what is their relationship to present-day politics?

THE FIRST CITIES

Absolutism is found as the governmental principle of the earliest civilizations which grew up in that part of Arabia we know as Mesopotamia. Sumer, believed to be the first of these cities, was ruled by its invisible god, En-lil. His representatives, who expressed his wishes to the people, were the priests.

En-lil gave orders concerning the organization of the government. He named those officials who were to carry out the government. And he ordered the construction of public works. Whatever

the god commanded must be done. There was no question of the wishes of the people.

Gradually, these early civilizations found it desirable to choose someone to lead their armies. The priests were not very good soldiers, and the gods were warlike beings. In time, the military leaders became kings, and they took over as representatives of the god. Some of these kings, like the Pharaohs of Egypt, were themselves regarded as gods. As such, they had complete control over their people. The king's will was law.

ANCIENT GREECE

Later, among the ancient Greeks, the idea of government took on new aspects. The Greeks called all people who were not Greeks *barbaroi*. This has been translated as barbarians. In their opinion, kings were good enough for barbarians. For Greeks there were three types of government: democracy, oligarchy, and tyranny.

Greek Democracy was far from the democracy we know. Life in Greece was lived in a number of small city states. The city state was called a *polis* (from which we get many of our words dealing with politics).

The Greek polis was a self-supporting unit made up of a city and the land surrounding it. The polis must be large enough to be able to support itself, but small enough that its citizens could know each other by sight. It must also be small enough that all citizens could share effectively in public business. Only freeborn men who had been born within the polis were citizens. Only citizens had the right to take part in the affairs of the polis.

Democracy meant government by the *demos* (the citizens) of the polis. That is to say, every citizen actually took part in making political decisions and in choosing the government. This was done in a sort of town meeting at which each citizen could speak up, and where he could record his vote. Such a democracy would be an impossibility today

except in some of our smallest communities.

And such a system was not perfect. Citizens could be prevented from voting by calling frequent meetings or by calling them at inconvenient times. This made it impossible for farmers or herders who were citizens of the polis to attend. So, they lost their votes and power gradually slipped into the hands of a small group who governed in their own interest. This was an oligarchy (government by a few).

As time went by, a strong leader might emerge in the oligarchy. Gradually, he would assume more and more power. He might be chosen to rule. If not, sooner or later, he would seize power (usually with the support of soldiers) and make himself absolute ruler.

At first, the people would be happy under his rule, because things went more smoothly when only one person had to decide them. This was what the Greeks called a tyranny.

In time, the ruler would become more and more strict. He would take more and more from the citizens in taxes. He would cease to think of the interests of the citizens and think only of his own. He would become (in our modern sense of the word) a tyrant.

Sooner or later, people would become dissatisfied to the point where they began to think about getting rid of the tyrant. They did this, usually, by assassinating him. Government was then usually returned to the democratic form. This was the customary cycle of governments in classical Greece.

These forms of government have not been transferred as carbon copies to our day. But the ideas behind them have come down to us. If you look about, you will find that various countries of the world have what are called democratic governments (usually with some form of parliament); others have dictatorships (more or less absolute); and yet others have what the Greeks would have called tyrannies, or totalitarian governments, which totally control every aspect of the life of their citizens.

| | | | | | |
|----|------------|-----------|-----------|------------------|-----------------|
| 1. | LIBERALISM | | | CONSERVATISM | |
| 2. | Communism | Socialism | Democracy | Authoritarianism | Totalitarianism |
| 3. | Left Wing | Left | Centre | Right | Right Wing |

1. Represents the two major divisions of political thought.
2. Suggests a more specific grouping of political philosophies within number 1.
3. Relates both 1 and 2 to the modern grouping of Left, Right, and Centre.

WESTERN DEMOCRACY

In the Western world, there has been a strong desire for individual freedom. People want to own some property, to choose where they will live, to choose their work, to be free from fear of arrest or abuse by soldiers or by the police. They have wanted to live under clearly defined laws which gave them the right to a fair trial without undue delay.

They have wanted the right to follow a religion of their own choice, without being penalized by exclusion from public affairs. They have wanted the right to vote; to choose the people who will carry on the government in their name.

This demand for freedom has found a good degree of satisfaction in the system of government that we call democracy. Today, it is impossible for all citizens to gather in such a meeting as those held in the polis, and to choose their governors. Instead, we nominate candidates who present themselves to the citizens and ask for their support. Then, on the set day, those citizens who are entitled to vote go to "polling booths" to mark pieces of paper (called ballots) for the candidate or candidates they wish to see elected.

Within our democracy there have developed two main ways of thinking:

■ One seeks ever greater freedom within the system. This is "the liberal tradition."

■ The other tends toward keeping things unchanged, or even toward the principle of absolutism. It is "the conservative tradition."

■ But there is no hard line dividing liberal and conservative. Instead, we find between them a group which shares some of the ideas of both. It tends to moderation in the expression of political views.

LEFT, RIGHT, AND CENTRE

This three-way division of opinion has produced the classification of political ideas as "left, right, or centre." In the beginning, it was the seating arrangement of parties in the Legislative

Assembly which met in Paris, France in October 1791, that gave rise to this description. The assembly had been granted by King Louis XVI following the first stage of the French Revolution.

This was a revolution against the absolute power of the king and it sought more say for the people in government. Thus there were two clear parties, one made up of supporters of the king; the other seeking abolition of the monarchy and establishment of a new kind of government.

In the assembly, the king's party was joined by a moderate group. They sat *to the right* of the presiding officer. The revolutionary group was divided into two sections. One of these wanted a foreign war, the other wanted to establish the new government first. They sat *to the left* of the presiding officer.

Between these two groups, *in the centre*, sat a third group who supported the home policies of the right and the foreign policies of the left.

PARTY GROUPINGS

We still use these expressions in speaking of political parties.

Today, the Right includes parties which follow policies of restriction and control. They would reduce the degree of freedom allowed, and introduce looser regulation of business.

The Left is made up of parties which would give citizens increased control of business and of profits. They advocate control of production by society and the sharing of benefits among the people. They would increase citizen participation in the affairs of the society.

We usually think of our Canadian Liberal and Conservative parties as forming the centre, with authoritarian groups on the right and socialist groups on the left.

NEW LEFT, NEW RIGHT

A modern development is known as "the new right" and "the new left."

These are radical parties which seek total change in existing systems. They may even tend to anarchism, which means the total destruction of governments. Such people are known as activists, because they are always active in exploiting points of friction among citizens and between citizens and their governments. One of their chief purposes is to bring government machinery to a stop:

(1) to paralyze the activity of government.

(2) to create an atmosphere of total confusion and distrust which will make it possible for them to seize power.

(3) to create a condition in which there is no government and no centre of power.

This is anarchy.

THE QUESTION

Now, as from the beginning, the ideas of Freedom and Authority are opposed in human affairs. Experience has led men to believe that neither absolute freedom nor absolute authority is possible as a way of life. Their opinions concerning the degree of either that they should seek have led to the whole range of modern political parties.

We all freely admit that there is no such thing in this world as perfection. We have learned that we must settle always for the best we can get. In deciding our position in the pattern of politics we must be quite clear on what we want.

The question then becomes: Which system will enable us to come closest to getting what we want?

FOR DISCUSSION:

Discuss definitions of the following: Greek Democracy, Western Democracy, Absolutism, Totalitarianism, Authoritarianism, oligarchy, tyranny, liberal, conservative, left, right, centre, Socialism, Communism, Fascism, Anarchism.

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